

AIR-TEL

DECEMBER 9, 1952

SAC, NEW YORK

ANTONINA THOMAS, was., INTERNAL SECURITY - R. FOR YOUR INFO  
CRIMINAL DIVISION OF DEPARTMENT HAS ADVISED THAT SUBJECT'S  
REGISTRATION UNDER THE FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT WILL BE  
SOLICITED AND REQUESTED THAT SUBJECT'S PRESENT ADDRESS BE  
ASCERTAINED AND FURNISHED THE DEPARTMENT. YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO  
SUTEL SUBJECT'S PRESENT ADDRESS.

HOOVER

100-11146

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-7-82 BY SP10SCIC

G.I.R.-6

AJH:elk *gllc*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMM - FBI  
DEC 11 1952  
DEC 16 1952

DEC 3 11 58 AM '52  
DEC 2 1952

*WAB*  
*at*  
*agm*

AIR-TEL  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE NEW YORK  
12/11/52

**AIR MAIL DISPATCH**

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU

ANTONINA THOMAS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REBUAIRTEL, DECEMBER NINE LAST. SUBJECT PRESENTLY  
RESIDING ONE ZERO SEVEN WEST EIGHT FOUR ST., NY TWENTY FOUR,  
NY.

CLASS BY QD1 BSKJC

DATE OF REVIEW DEC 16-7-82

BOARDMAN

LYB/JP

Let E OGD  
12/17/52  
Ogm:mc

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-1-80 BY SP-8 BJS/ML

cc: Mr. Donovan  
Sub Dept

(3) - BUREAU (REGULAR MAIL)

RSP:MAC(#6)  
62-9337

RECORDED - 31  
X-112

100-11146-112  
DEC 12 1952  
18  
19

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SECRET

92

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

CC - Mr. Belmont

Assistant Attorney General  
Charles B. Murray

December 17, 1952

Director, FBI

100-11146-112  
ANTONINA THOMAS, was.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
REGISTRATION ACT

Reference is made to your memorandum dated December 4, 1952, your reference CHM:WEF:FEJ:rc 146-1-51-5279, in which you requested to be advised of the present address of Thomas.

Please be advised that Antonina Thomas is presently residing at 107 West 84th Street, New York 24, New York.

100-11146

AJM:rnc:jdb

~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Declassification*  
DATE *12/11/90*

*Declassified by*  
*2333 Gaf: g*  
*12-2-97*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *10-7-82* BY *SP1GSCJC*

COMM - FBI  
DEC 18 1952  
MAILED 27

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
F. B. I.

DEC 15 5 20 PM '52  
REC'D-10 F. B. I.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DEC 31 1952

RECEIVED  
FBI  
DEC 17 7 30 PM '52

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*web*  
*94*

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SAC memo 11-13-52 b1

[REDACTED]

b7C b7D  
G.I.R.-6  
(S) b4

LABOR UNION AFFILIATION:  
DRAFT STATUS OR STATUS IN RESERVES:  
CRIMINAL RECORD:

CLASS. BY DP 1GSKJC  
DATE OF REVIEW 10-7-82

100-11146-113

JAN 2 1953  
62

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-7-82 BY 100-11146-113

~~SECRET~~

64 JAN 2 - 1953

ENCLOSURE

61-5-5 95



~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

March 4, 1953

Director, FBI

ANTONINA THOMAS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-7-82 BY SP1GS/ETC

Reference is made to the memorandum of former Assistant Attorney General Charles B. Murray dated December 4, 1952, CID:WEP:FEJ:rc, 146-1-51-5279, which advised that Thomas' registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act would be solicited.

It would be appreciated if you will advise if Thomas has registered.

100-11146

*Declassified by*  
*2333 bag:4 12-12-77*

~~SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Declassification*  
DATE *11/11/94*

RECORDED - 142 *100-11146-114*

MAR 6 1953  
137

JEW:brg  
*brg*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_

58 MAR 13 1953

MAILED 16  
MAR 5 - 1953  
COMM. FBI

*53 PM 53*  
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*U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE*  
*100-11146-114*  
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*92*

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) \_\_\_\_\_ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☒ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). ~~These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.~~

\_\_\_\_\_ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : W. A. Branigan *WAB*  
 FROM : J. E. Wallace *JW*  
 SUBJECT: ANTONINA THOMAS, was  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
 INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

DATE: April 2, 1953

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE.

Thomas is the widow of General Walter G. Krivitsky,  
 who died in the U.S. in 1941 and was in the employ of Soviet  
 military intelligence for many years.

[REDACTED]

(S)

[REDACTED]

(S)

[REDACTED]

RECOMMENDATION:

That this case be closed.

RECORDED-138 100-11146-116

CLASS BY *PP1B/KTC*  
 DATE OF REVIEW *10-7-82*

Classified by *3335*  
 Exempt from GDS  
 Date of Declassification

*2*  
*694W*  
~~SECRET~~

Tolson  
 Ladd  
 Nichols  
 Belmont  
 Clegg  
 Glavin  
 Harbo  
 Rosen  
 Tracy  
 Egan  
 Gurnea  
 Harbo  
 Mohr  
 Winterrowd  
 Tele. Room  
 Holloman  
 Gandy

~~SECRET~~

RE: [REDACTED]

b7c b7D

b1

[REDACTED]

(S)

Labor Union Affiliation: [REDACTED]

Draft Status in Reserves: [REDACTED]

Criminal Record: [REDACTED]

b7D

CLASS. BY DAIGSKJC

DATE OF REVIEW

10-7-82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

RECORDED - 50

100-11146-117

JUN 18 1953

75

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77 JUL 29 1953 22-3



SECRET

Director, FBI (105-22869)

SAC, New York (105-6073)

ALEXANDER ORLOV, was  
IS - R

*Walter G. Kravitsky*



12/18/53

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by *2333*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
*12-2-77*

ORLOV was interviewed on 12/10/53 by SA [REDACTED]

CLASS BY *221055*  
DATE OF REVIEW *12-7-82*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

[REDACTED]

(S)

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

(S)

AL D F/R  
SL 11 OF 11  
DATE 11/2/82  
BY 11/2/82

JAN 12 1954

MEM: EJR



*100-11146-V*  
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162 JAN 24 1954

CONFIDENTIAL

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
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\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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100 - 11146 - NR dated 12/10/53 pages 2+3

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 105-6073

[REDACTED] (S)

b1

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] also mentioned that within recent days he talked with one of the writers who had assisted WALTER KRIVITSKY (S)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 105-6073

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

prepare the story concerning his defection and his activities as a Soviet official. This story appeared in the "Saturday Evening Post" Magazine and later in a book by KRIVITSKY entitled "In Stalin's Secret Service" published in 1939. In the magazine articles and in the book KRIVITSKY is represented as a former general in the Red Army Intelligence.

ORLOV stated that the writer who assisted KRIVITSKY and with whom ORLOV spoke said that just before the articles were to be published in the "Saturday Evening Post", KRIVITSKY came to the writer and told him that he could not permit the story to be published in the form in which it had been prepared because he, KRIVITSKY, had never been a general in the Red Army Intelligence.

According to ORLOV, the writer told KRIVITSKY that he had to go ahead with the story as it was prepared because KRIVITSKY had signed a contract. KRIVITSKY finally agreed to let the story represent him as a former general in the Red Army Intelligence.

ORLOV declined to furnish the name of the writer with whom he talked and who assisted KRIVITSKY in the preparation of his story.

Agents of the NYO believe that the writer with whom ORLOV spoke is probably ISAAC DON LEVINE. It is noted that recently [redacted] informed agents of the NYO that ORLOV had told him that ISAAC DON LEVINE had attempted to contact him. b7c b7d

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10



BAC, New York

b1  
(S)

Director, FBI (105-22869)

December 22, 1953  
CLASS BY 6145857C

Classified by 43 DNE OF REVIEW  
Exempt from GDS  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
12-2-87

Furnished by Walter C. Krivitsky, former Soviet official who defected in 1937, has been used in questioning source and requesting that Bureau furnish the results of various interviews which were conducted of Krivitsky.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Classification*  
DATE 11/10/97

Krivitsky who was born in 1899, in the Ukraine, was christened Samuel Ginzberg. He stated that his legal name in the Soviet Union was Walter Ginzberg Krivitsky and that he was a member of the Communist Party from 1917-1937. During the fall of 1937, he stated that he broke with the Communist Party and since he had been virtually persecuted. Krivitsky entered the United States during the latter part of 1938, accompanied by his wife and children. He was given wide publicity in his series of articles in the "Saturday Evening Post" beginning on April 15, 1939. In November, 1939, Krivitsky published his book entitled "In Stalin's Secret Service."

In January, 1939, Krivitsky called at the United States Department of State and furnished information concerning certain aspects of Soviet developments with which he was familiar. Again on March 15, 1939, and June 28, 1939, Krivitsky was interviewed by representatives of the State Department. Photostats of two memoranda containing pertinent portions of these interviews are enclosed for your assistance.

On July 27, 1939, Krivitsky was interviewed by Agents of the Bureau. Information obtained at this time was substantially the same as set forth in an article Krivitsky subsequently published in the "Saturday Evening Post" on August 5, 1939, and in his book.

Your attention is called to the matter captioned "Gerge 65-398, particularly the report of SA [redacted] New York file 1939, at New York City, which sets forth the results of this interview with Krivitsky.

(65-2839-5)

SE 18

NOT RECORDED

ORIGINAL FILED IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

Tolson  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Harbo  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Quinn  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
Miss Gandy

63 JAN 6 1954  
ATTACHMENT 103457  
CERTIFIED

cc - 100-11146 (Krivitsky)  
KRC:rjm

DUPLICATE  
DEC 11 1953  
MAILED

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SECRET

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~ (s) b

[REDACTED]

Also there are enclosed Photostats of a series of three articles captioned "The Inside Story of Our Soviet Underworld" by Isaac Don Levine, which appeared in the September, October and November, 1948, issues of the magazine, "Plain Talk." (100-11146-85) e

On October 11, 1939, Krivitsky testified before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives. A transcript of Krivitsky's testimony is set forth on pages 5719 through 5742, Volume 9 of the Committee's report pertaining to "Investigations of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States." (61-7582, Vol. 9)

It is believed the above will assist you in your future questioning of the source.

[REDACTED] (s)

- 2 -

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100 - 11146 - NR 1-25-54

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TO : W. A. BRANIGAN

DATE: November 30, 1953

FROM : J. E. WALLACE

SUBJECT: ISMAIL AKHMEDOV, with aliases  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

The attached Photostats of WFO memorandum to the Bureau, dated October 27, 1953, captioned "Ismail Akhmedov, aka Ismail Ego; Internal Security - R" should be placed in the following Bureau files:

61-5381  
61-7728  
65-57857  
65-57859  
65-57876  
65-58363  
65-60588  
65-60953  
65-60954  
65-61685  
65-62198  
74-1333  
100-11146  
100-183386  
100-287685  
100-341549  
100-331280  
100-354086

ENCL.

Attachment

100-351199

JEW:fk

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-7-82 BY SP1GSK/JC

100-11146-✓  
NOT RECORDED  
126 DEC 9 1953

50 DEC 10 1953



*Office Memorandum* • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-351199)

DATE: October 27, 1953

FROM : SAC, WFO (65-4942)

2440  
SUBJECT: ISMAIL AKHMEDOV  
aka Ismail Age  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Re WFO airtel dated October 25, 1953.

During the interviews of the subject on October 24 and 25, 1953, efforts were made to clarify the discrepancies in the information as contained in the files of the Washington Field Office to the information attributed to the subject by ROBERT MORRIS, Counsel for the Jenner Committee.

The following information was obtained from the subject during the course of these interviews:

DEFECTION

The subject on October 24, 1953, advised he had been questioned by Mr. MORRIS as to the steps undertaken by him when he defected from the Soviets in 1942. AKHMEDOV furnished the following information regarding this defection:

TC

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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18 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
100-11146- NR enclosure dated 10/27/53 pages 2-19

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WFO 65-4942

KATYN FOREST

The subject advised that he has no information regarding the happenings in the Katyn Forest massacre other than he has obtained through reading newspapers and books regarding this incident.

WALTER KRIVITSKY

The subject advised he had no personal knowledge regarding WALTER KRIVITSKY but assumes from what he has read that KRIVITSKY's liquidation was ordered by Moscow.

The subject advised during this interview that generally speaking the intelligence activities of the legal residents and the illegal residents of Section IV were considered to be very poor during the time he functioned as Chief of this section. During this time the United States was not the prime target for penetration by Soviet agents although Red Army Headquarters was vitally interested in obtaining information from this country. The prime target of intelligence during that period was Germany. Generally speaking Russian intelligence was at a low ebb in the late 1930's and early 1940's due to the purges of Red Army officers that took place in Russia. The high ranking officers who assumed positions of importance in Red Army Intelligence after these purges mistrusted the agents who had been affiliated with their predecessors and in many instances ordered them returned to Russia so they could replace them with agents of their own choosing.

The subject advised on October 26, 1953, that subsequent to his return from New York he will contact the Washington Field Office and make himself available for re-interview.

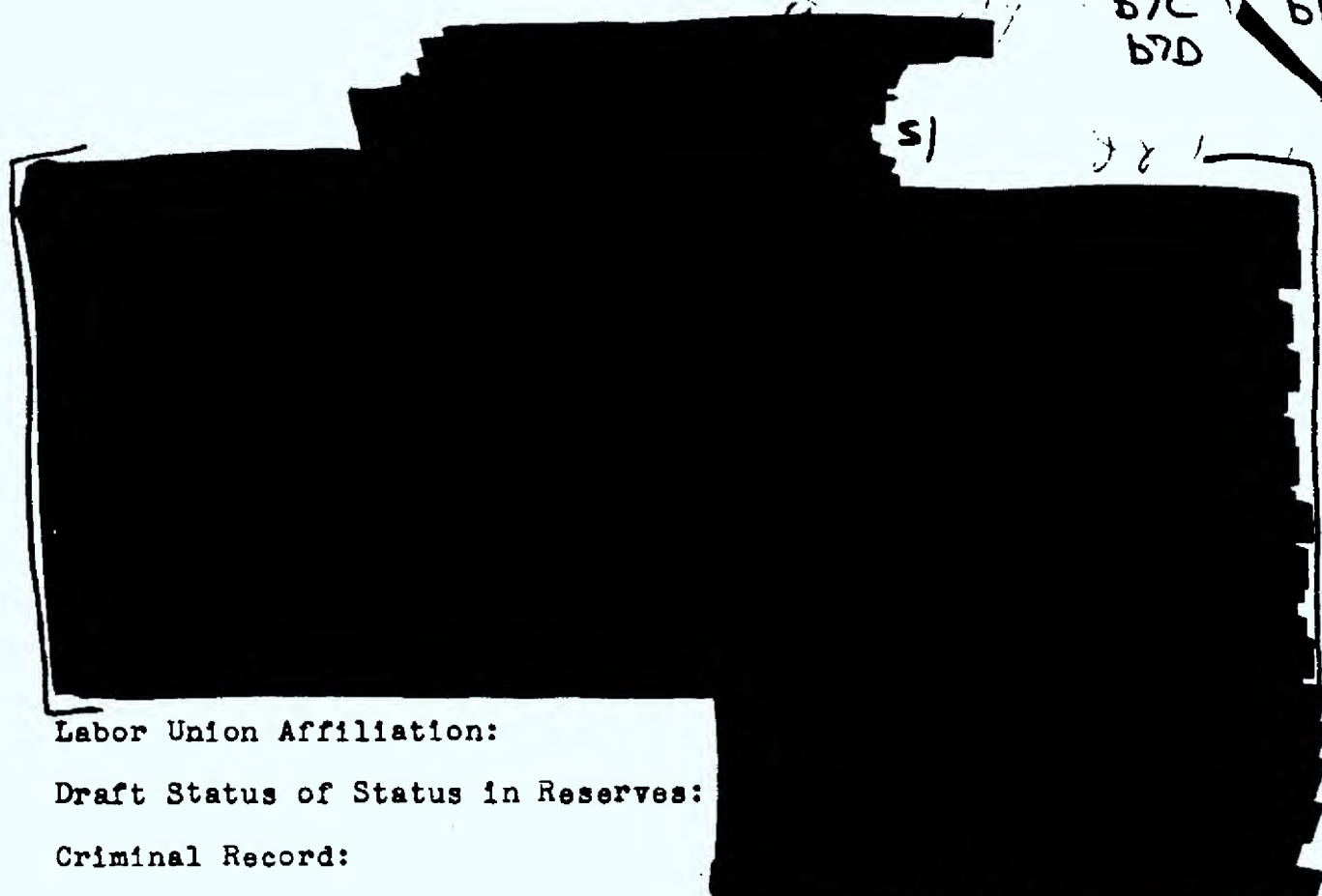
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b7D

b1

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281



Labor Union Affiliation:

Draft Status of Status in Reserves:

Criminal Record:

DATE OF REVIEW 10-7-82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-7-82 BY 1043

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100-11146-118

MAY

53 MAY 27 1954

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*



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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET87

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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100-11146-118X Enclosure Behind File

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET18

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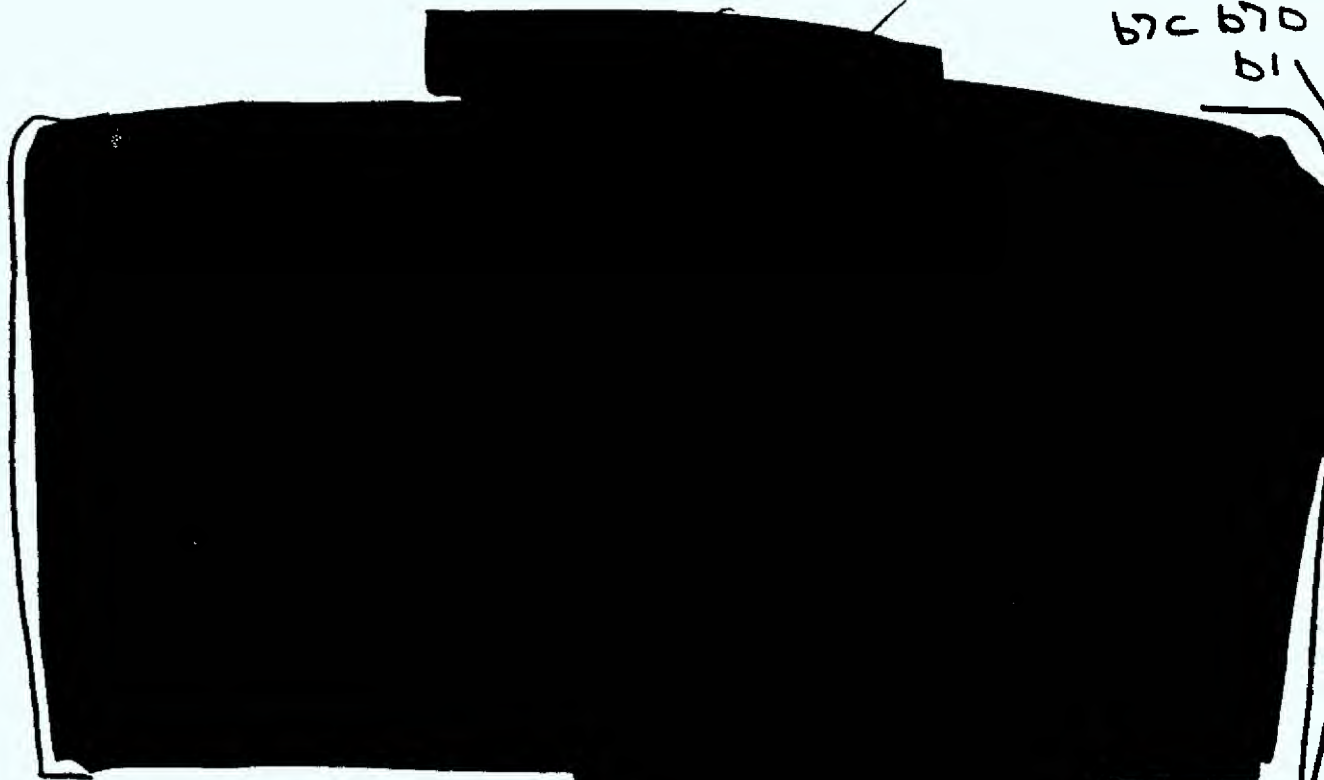
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b7c b7d  
b1



Labor Union Affiliation:

Draft Status or Status in Reserves:

Criminal Record:

CLASS. BY SP16SKJC

DATE OF REVIEW 10-8-82

100-11146  
RECORDED - 67  
EX-103

100-11146-120  
DEC 10 1954

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-8-82 BY SP16SKJC

61 DEC 16 1954

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SECRET

1/6 TO ALLY & ALL FIELD OFFICES  
3-21-55

[REDACTED]

If prepared, index cards concerning the  
above-mentioned individuals should be amended accordingly.

100-11146- ✓  
NOT RECORDED  
80 MAR 22 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-8-82 BY 1045

CLASS. BY

SP1GSTEJ

DATE OF REVIEW

10-8-82

Re Espionage and Internal  
Security Investigations

[REDACTED]

21 MAR 28 1955

326 GEMG

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

SECRET

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *Amos*

DATE: November 30, 1955

FROM : R. R. Roach *RR*SUBJECT: *W* WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
ESPIONAGE - R

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The captioned individual was reportedly the Chief of Soviet Military Intelligence for Western Europe until his defection in October, 1937. He came to the United States in 1938 and was found dead in a Washington, D. C., hotel room on February 10, 1941, ostensibly a suicide.

ACTION:

None. For information.

CLASS. BY SP10KJSC

DATE OF REVIEW \_\_\_\_\_

SJP:lw  
(7)

1-Belmont  
1-Nichols  
1-Branigan  
1-WC Sullivan  
1-Papich  
1-Liaison Section Tickler

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OTHERWISE

RECORDED - 86

INDEXED - 36

17 DEC 6 1955

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71 DEC 6 1955

100-11146-121

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cc - Boardman  
Belmont  
Brannigan  
Roach  
Whitson

RECORDED-70

EX-126 100-11146 -122

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
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DATE *1/12/78* *1685/12/1*

CLASS. BY *SP1 GSK JC*

Date: December 16, 1955

DATE OF REVIEW *10-8-82*  
VIA LIAISON

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OTHERWISE

To: CONTAIN

CLASSIFIED

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

OTHERWISE

(orig and 1)

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, with aliases  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

LW:blb (8)

CLASS. BY *SP1 GSK JC*

DATE OF REVIEW *10-8-82*

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JAN 5 1956

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[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Para 2, 3 Classified

~~SECRET~~

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[REDACTED] b1

All data regarding Krivitsky's movements during the period immediately preceding his death and the identities of various persons associated in one way or another with him were furnished to [REDACTED] by memorandum regarding Margarita Sinitsoglou Dobert and Hitel Wolf Dobert, with eleven investigative reports in the case entitled Hans Bruesse and Others, Espionage - R. (65-33154-41)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] Levine's initial theory regarding Krivitsky's death was that Krivitsky committed suicide of his own accord due to his own feelings induced by economic difficulty and "hopeless home life." This is set out on page 12 of the report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated March 24, 1942, at New York City, in the Hans Bruesse case mentioned above. b7

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] (S) (61-16-913)

According to references in House Document No. 711, 81st Congress, Second Session, "Foreign Relations of the United States 1933-1939, the Soviet Union," the sentence of death was carried out on General Tukhachevski and others, including one Futna, former Soviet Military Attache in Berlin, on June 12, 1937, after they had been found guilty of treason by a military collegium in a special judicial session of the Supreme Court of the USSR. (65-37939-264, encl. pages 379-383)

Para 3. and 1st Bracket  
classified [REDACTED] b1

- 3 -

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b1

In the article in "Plain Talk" for October, 1948, Levine stated: "I also recalled to Krivitsky the startling item which had cropped out during his first all-night meeting with Whittaker Chambers, involving a major on the general staff of the U.S. Army, a graduate of West Point. It appeared that this officer, who was given to excessive drinking, had been maneuvered into becoming a paid spy of the Soviet military intelligence. His premature death was regarded as a blow by the chiefs of the Soviet underworld. I tried to find out from Krivitsky if the Kremlin had, to his knowledge, any other agents in our national defense departments." This quoted paragraph was merely the introduction to the quotation from "Plain Talk" on page one of this memorandum. Levine at that time did not attribute to Krivitsky any statements regarding Putna or a deceased American major.

Any additional data coming to your attention regarding these matters would be of interest.

- 4 -

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FBI/DOJ

125

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cc - Liaison  
Sanders  
F. L. Jones

100-1146-123

RECORDED-38

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CLASS. BY SP1 BSKJC  
DATE OF REVIEW 10-8-82

EX-126

Date: December 14, 1955

VIA LIAISON

To: [REDACTED] (orig and 1)  
b1

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: [WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R] (S) W

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OTHERWISE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]  
DATE [REDACTED]

To: [REDACTED]  
From: [REDACTED]  
Subject: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b1  
[REDACTED] b1  
[REDACTED] (S)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosures (2)

cc - 105-22869 (orig) (S)  
cc - 74-1333 [Chambers] (S)  
ESS: blb (8)

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Class. upheld by 2333  
8/9/97-12-9-77  
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[REDACTED]

b1

Orlov's comments on Krivitsky's book entitled "In Stalin's Secret Service" are contained in our report of June 23, 1954, entitled "Alexander Orlov, with aliases, Internal Security - R," a copy of which was furnished to your Agency on September 10, 1954. There is no additional pertinent information or references concerning Krivitsky's activities which have not previously been furnished to you. *fu*

With reference to contacting Chambers, this Bureau has in recent months refrained from making any contacts with Chambers which were not absolutely necessary in view of his serious heart condition. Dr. E. Reese Wilkins of Westminster, Maryland, who is Chambers' physician, has advised this Bureau that on October 20, 1955, Chambers suffered another severe heart attack and would be confined to bed for an extended period of time. Dr. Wilkins recommended against any contacts which might excite Chambers and even prior to this time Mrs. Chambers had requested that contacts with her husband be held to an absolute minimum and only in connection with most important and urgent matters. *S(u)*

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249 612-9-79  
Classified by 333 To: MR. A. H. Belmont  
Exempt from GDS Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
PRO : F. A. Reed

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: NATO SPECIAL COMMITTEE

7TH CONFERENCE, PARIS, FRANCE CLASS BY DP1GSK50  
May 24-25, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE

DATE OF REVIEW

10-8-82

NATO Special Committee Conference, Paris, France

5/24-25/56 attended by [redacted] and [redacted] All NATO Re-  
nations except Iceland represented. Items on permanent agenda  
discussed. Discussions by Bureau representative limited to matters  
previously prepared and approved by Bureau. It was brought out  
generally that all Communist Parties were taken by surprise by  
the denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Congress, Communist Party  
of the Soviet Union; that considerable confusion resulted in  
Communist Parties and that Communist Parties were critical of the  
lack of prior warning but are quickly adjusting to the new policy.  
It was generally agreed that there has been no decrease in subversive  
activities since the Geneva Conference.

A summary of the discussions is being furnished to  
interested Sections of the Domestic Intelligence Division for  
information. Other items on the working agenda were discussed.  
The Bureau representative took positions previously approved by  
the Bureau and made no commitments on matters not previously  
considered by the Bureau. The combined paper on communism in  
the NATO countries prepared by the secretary, based upon con-  
tributions by all NATO nations, was approved with several minor  
revisions and will be forwarded to the NATO Council for information  
with an explanatory cover letter. Details on other items such  
as the return to the homeland campaign, emergency planning in  
the security field, and exchange of visiting delegations with  
Soviet bloc countries, are being set forth completely in separate  
memoranda.

FOR INFO IS AS  
TO DISSEMINATION  
SEE FILE 62-91719-98

[redacted]

Conference believed successful from standpoint of foreign  
63 section, as exchange of information on security matters.

NKP:le (6)  
1-Belmont  
1-Philcox  
1-Tickler

Mr. Belmont  
1-Whitson  
1-BLV 7-5-

Request is formally  
made it is to be turned  
down. The and [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum, Rosch to Belmont

ACTION:

Report being prepared for State Department. Copies will be furnished to ACSI, OBI, OSI, [REDACTED] A summary will also be furnished to the Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General Rogers, and Assistant Attorney General Tompkins.

Separate memoranda are being prepared on each of the problems discussed, showing decisions made and any action necessary by the Bureau. These matters will be followed closely and handled promptly.

*mf*

*for 5-28*

*✓*

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ice Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : L. V. Boardman

DATE: June 8, 1956

FROM : A. H. Belmont

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

CLASS. BY SP18SKTC  
DATE OF REVIEW 10-8-82

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SYNOPSIS:

Isaac Don Levine, free-lance writer, indicated in press to have told British Embassy, Washington, D. C., in 1939 that two Soviet agents had penetrated British Foreign Service. Indicated one had been executed in Tower of London and the other had all the characteristics of Donald Maclean. Any representations by Levine to British unknown to Bureau.

*For [unclear]*

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

Classified by 4913/11-30-76  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
by Class - up [unclear]  
64-2333

RECORDED - 50

INDEXED-50

100-1146  
cc - Boardman  
Belmont  
Branigan  
Payne  
Whitson

LM:dlb  
(6)

EX - 120

100-11146-126  
JUN 19 1956

*5-6 [unclear]*  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum for L. V. Boardman

DETAILS:

Newspapers 6-7-56 carried stories that Isaac Don Levine, free-lance writer, testified at hearing of Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that in 1939 he, Levine, had told the British Embassy in Washington, D. C., that two Soviet spies had infiltrated its Diplomatic Corps. Levine testified he got the information from the late Walter Krivitsky. Levine also testified that one of these was later identified as a man named King who held a key spot in the code room of the British Consular Office. According to Levine, the British executed King in October, 1939, in the Tower of London. (u)

Levine said Krivitsky had described the second man as a member of a Scottish family and a young intellectual communist with artistic interests which Levine stated were all characteristics of Donald Maclean. (u)

A British spokesman was quoted as saying that King had been convicted on evidence relayed from the United States.

You inquired, "Is this true." (u)

[REDACTED]

- 2 -  
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100-11146-126 page 3

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Tolson ☒  
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 Mohr ☐  
 Parsons ☐  
 Rosen ☐  
 Tamm ☐  
 Nease ☐  
 Winterrowd ☐  
 Tele. Room ☐  
 Holloman ☐  
 Gandy ☐

# Says He Told British About 2 Spies in '39

By GWEN GIBSON  
 of THE NEWS Bureau

Washington, June 6—A Russian-born author today testified the British government knew in 1939 that two Soviet spies, one resembling Donald Maclean, had infiltrated its diplomatic corps.

Isaac Don Levine, of Waldorf, Md., now an American citizen, told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that he went to the British Embassy in Washington that year with information about the Soviet agents. He said he got it from Gen. Walter Krivitsky, once chief of the Soviet secret service in Western Europe.

## Found One, He Says

"At first they looked at me with obvious smiles of incredulity," he said. "But later that year the British learned that one member of the Soviet underground named King was holding a key spot in the code room of the British consular office."

Levine testified that the British then slipped Krivitsky into London to assist them in identifying the second man, who "it was known" was working in the Foreign Service in London.

Levine said Krivitsky had described the second man as a member of a Scottish family and a young intellectual Communist with artistic interests—"all characteristics of Maclean."

## Executed in Tower

Levine said the British, even with Krivitsky's help, could never run down the second man but that they executed King (who was not otherwise identified) in October, 1939, in the Tower of London.

Subcommittee counsel Robert Morris introduced evidence into the record that former State Department aid Alger Hiss had kept appointments in 1946 with Maclean at the embassy here.

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUN 7 1956

100-11146-126

ENCLOSURE



# British Bare Sentencing Of Russian Spy in 1939

Retired Army Officer in Foreign Office  
Got 10 Years, Partly on U. S. Evidence

LONDON, June 7 (AP).—The Foreign Office revealed today a British court in the World War II period sentenced Capt. John Herbert King to 10 years in prison for giving secrets to the Soviet Union in September 1939. He was freed after the war.

A Foreign Office spokesman said King had been convicted on evidence relayed from the United States.

King was a retired Army officer working in the communications sections of the Foreign Office.

The Foreign Office statement followed testimony given to a United States Senate investigating committee that Britain executed a Soviet spy in the Tower of London in 1939.

Questioned about King's present whereabouts, the spokesman said:

"As far as I know he is still alive."

Asked if King is living in Britain, the spokesman said:

"I believe so."

The spokesman said King had been working in a department that dealt with secret codes and highly confidential information and that he had passed these on to the Russians.

He refused to go into details about the evidence sent to London from the United States.

Asked if a former Soviet intelligence officer, Gen. Walter Krivitsky, was involved in the evidence, he replied: "Yes, the assumption is correct that Gen. Krivitsky's evidence helped convict King."

The spokesman said a con-

siderable amount of evidence was received from the United States which "might have involved" a British diplomat.

Asked if the diplomat he referred to was Donald Maclean or Guy Burgess, turncoat Britons now in Moscow, he said:

"You may assume that it was one of them."

He emphasized the information pointing to a British diplomat as a spy is "not precise enough at the time to identify him."

"However, it was enough to make you wonder about him."

Isaac Don Levine, a Waldorf, Md., author, testified at a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearing that he got the story of the execution from Gen. Krivitsky, former chief of the Soviet secret police in Western Europe, before he was found shot to death in a Washington hotel in 1940.

Gen. Krivitsky, he said, told him Britain quietly executed the man named King, one of two Britons allegedly recruited as Soviet agents. Mr. Levine said he thought from Gen. Krivitsky's description the other agent was Maclean.

Tolson ☒  
Boardman ☒  
Belmont ☒  
Mason ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Parsons ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Tamm ☒  
Nease ☒  
Winterrowd ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holloman ☒  
Gandy ☒

Wash. Post and Times Herald ☒  
Wash. News ☒  
Wash. Star ☒  
N. Y. Herald Tribune ☒  
N. Y. Mirror ☒  
N. Y. Daily News ☒  
Daily Worker ☒  
The Worker ☒  
New Leader ☒

Date JUN 7 1956

100-11146-126  
ENCLOSURE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MR. BRANHAM

(SPY)

LONDON--BRITAIN DISCLOSED TODAY THAT A TIP FROM THE UNITED STATES UNMASKED A SPY WORKING FOR RUSSIA IN THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE CODE ROOM IN 1939.

IT HAPPENED IN THE FATEFUL YEAR WHEN WORLD WAR II BROKE OUT AND THE SOVIET UNION FORMED AN ALLIANCE WITH NAZI GERMANY.

A FOREIGN OFFICE SPOKESMAN REVEALED THE INFORMATION IN COMMENTING ON TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE IN WASHINGTON YESTERDAY.

HE SAID THAT A CAPT. JOHN KING, A RETIRED ARMY OFFICER WORKING FOR THE FOREIGN OFFICE COMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT, WAS CONVICTED OF PASSING INFORMATION TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. HE WAS SENTENCED TO 10 YEARS IMPRISONMENT IN SEPTEMBER, 1939.

ANTI-COMMUNIST AUTHOR ISAAC DON LEVINE TOLD THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE THAT A MAN NAMED KING WAS EXECUTED QUIETLY IN THE TOWER OF LONDON 10 YEARS FOR ESPIONAGE.

6/7--GE1102A

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN

IS UNCLASSIFIED

*File  
Whelan*

100-11146-126  
ENCLOSURE

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET4

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☒ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. E. BELMONT

DATE: June 15, 1956

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
ESPIONAGE - R

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 2333  
Exempt from GDS  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
55910 12-9-77

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ACTION:

None. For your information.

SJP:jsb (7)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Whitson
- 1 - Mr. Philcor
- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Feltich

RECORDED-75  
CLASSIFIED-75  
DATE OF REVIEW 10-7-82

EX-120

100-1146-127

CONTAINED  
X

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADDENDUM (6/15/56):

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED]

I think we were in error in not bringing this information to the Director's attention previously and, as the supervisor consulted with me prior to preparing the memorandum, I consider the error as mine.

A. H. BELMONT

*It is shameful. Don't get the complete picture particularly in a matter of such delicacy. I now let it - 2 - issue. To allow FBI to be involved in any way in this matter -*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: June 6, 1956

FROM : R. B. Roach *R*SUBJECT: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
ESPIONAGE - R

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*✓ Branigan*ACTION:

This is being submitted for the information of the Espionage Section so that this material can be reviewed to determine if there is anything of current interest to the Bureau.

WGP:lv

(7)

Enclosure

1-Belmont  
 1-Branigan  
 1-Papich  
 1-Philcar  
 1-Foreign Liaison Unit  
 1-Tickler

ENCLOSURE

JUN 13 1956

*WGP:lv  
 Branigan  
 6-14-56  
 L.W. Galt*

JUN 13 1956

XXXXXX  
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET5

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-11146-128 enclosures

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cc: Mr. Branigan  
Mr. Aull  
Mr. Lewis  
Mr. Stacey  
Mr. Whitson

~~SECRET~~

W. A. BRANIGAN

RECEIVED

June 14, 1956

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

L. WHITSON

CONTAINED  
INDEXED  
SERIALIZED  
ORIGINALS

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

CLASS. BY SP10SKJC

DATE OF REVIEW 10-8-82

WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, was.  
ESPIONAGE - R  
100-11146

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP10SKJC  
REASON - 1.83  
DATE OF REVIEW 10-8-82

Classified by 2383  
Exempt from GDS Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
bag:cy 12-9-77

[REDACTED]

b1

Enclosure

~~SECRET~~

LF:bal  
(13)

100-11146-128  
NOT RECORDED  
145 JUN 21 1956

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. Branigan

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the Records Section place copies of the cover memorandum on Krivitsky in each of the files listed above, and the blind memorandum on Krivitsky in each of the files mentioned above. It is suggested that a copy of the chart be placed in each file. The memorandum on [REDACTED] need go only in the [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] files. The May 26th memorandum on relations with the Netherlands Government should go in all of the listed files. (S) (u) b7

It is recommended in opening the Internal Security - R case on [REDACTED] that this case be opened with serial 45 of [REDACTED]. A copy of each of the reports listed in serial 45 of that file [REDACTED] should go in the new file on [REDACTED]

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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5 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. BOARDMAN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: June 19, 1956

FROM : A. H. Belmont

Classified by R 333  
Exempt from GDS Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
*bag 12-9-77 Papich*

SUBJECT: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY,  
Espionage - R

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

[REDACTED] asked Liaison Supervisor Papich and me to have lunch with them today, saying they had something to discuss with us.

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED]

AHB:CSH (5)

cc Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Branigan  
Mr. Papich

EX-100

23

JUN 21 1956

CLASS BY 2816 SKJ

EX-100

10-8-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNRECORDED COPY



~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

ACTION:

Liaison will keep alert for any information indicating further developments in this matter. u

Right

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Orig & dupl  
allows  
motion picture  
r. Vothman

Legal Attache, Paris (65-358)

July 3, 1956

Director, FBI (100-11146)

RECORDED. 100-11146-131  
WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
ESPIONAGE - R

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED] (3)

[REDACTED] (5)

cc: 65-63743

CAM: lmm  
(6)

CLASS BY 02165550  
DATE OF REVIEW 10-8-82

OTHERWISE

NOTE: On memorandum 6/15/56 from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman the Director noted in part: "I now flatly refuse to allow the FBI to become involved in any way in this matter."

Classified by 2333  
Exempt from automatic  
Date of declassification indefinite  
12.12.77

LEGAT  
20 JUL 5  
COMM - FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. 3  
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100-11146-131

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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cc - Whitson

SECRET

Legal Attache, Paris (65-358) (orig and 1) August 31, 1956

Director, FBI (100-11146)-132

RECORDED-32

WALTER G. KRIVITSKY  
ESPIONAGE - R

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by 2333  
Exempt from GDS Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

3048.90 12/12/77

[REDACTED]

S

[REDACTED]

There are enclosed two prints of a newspaper photograph taken in October, 1939, when the subject testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

CLASS. BY 0010550

Alien registration records show that the subject's legal name was Walter Poref. He was born Samuel Ginzberg and was known by the alias Walter Krivitsky. He was born 6/28/99 in Podwoloczyska (Podwoloczyska), Russia. He was described in December, 1940, as follows:

DATE OF REVIEW 10-5-82

Height:	5 feet, 6 inches
Weight:	145 pounds
Hair:	Gray black
Eyes:	Blue
Complexion:	Medium
Build:	Medium
Scars and marks:	None

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-12-82 BY 0010550

LEGAT  
6 - AUG - 2  
COMM-FBI

The above description was taken from his alien registration form. His fingerprint classification was 17 L 5 R 2 M 1 Rt .

[REDACTED]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosures (2)  
cc - Foreign Liaison Unit (route thru for review)  
LA: b1 (5) (SEE NOTE ON PAGE 2.)

AUG 7 1956

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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b7c b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.
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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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Tics; Bird  
Rosen

65-64323

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-8-82 BY [redacted]  
ap105KJC

March 7, 1957

[redacted] b7c b7D

The captioned individual was interviewed at Washington, D. C., on March 1, 1957, by Special Agent [redacted] b7 at which time he provided the following information concerning Walter Krivitsky in addition to that furnished by him on January 15, 1957.

[redacted] b7c b7D  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] conversations with Krivitsky were generally social in nature and dealt with current topics and world developments. [redacted] recalled that Krivitsky's comments and expressions seemed to [redacted] at the time to be Marxist in nature. He did not learn of any background data concerning Krivitsky until after the latter entered the United States in 1938 and was not aware of his nationality or travels. Prior to that he assumed that Krivitsky, [redacted] was one of those active in German anti-Nazi refugee circles in France and, because of his Marxist expressions, possibly a fellow traveler or communist sympathizer. [redacted] stated he got the impression somehow that Krivitsky came originally from Galicia, Russia, and perhaps had been a schoolmate of Wohl. 100-11146-✓

[redacted] stated Krivitsky usually spoke in German but on some occasions spoke French. He never saw Krivitsky's passport and was not aware of any hotels, offices or residences utilized by Krivitsky abroad. He never met Krivitsky's wife and had no knowledge as to her whereabouts at the time of his contacts with Krivitsky prior to the latter's defection.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ETB:nd:pr3

(7)

cc - [redacted] b7c  
1 - 100-11146 (Krivitsky)  
Original and copy to State

[REDACTED] b7c  
b7D

He recalled Krivitsky as a man of small, thin stature, Arab-Jewish and intense in appearance. He had full black hair and dark eyes and appeared to be about the same age as [REDACTED] b7c

Krivitsky's chauffeur was not present at any meetings between [REDACTED] and Krivitsky. [REDACTED] recalled seeing the chauffeur but never actually met him and did not know his name. He recalled the chauffeur appeared to be around 30 years of age, 6 feet in height, powerfully built, German in appearance and having a round face. b7c  
b7D

[REDACTED] could not estimate the number of times he met with Krivitsky, either abroad or in the United States. [REDACTED] pointed out he traveled to Paris on vacations in the Summers of approximately 1935 and 1936 and possibly 1937 and on each of those trips probably met with Krivitsky on several occasions. His contacts with Krivitsky after the latter entered the United States were infrequent and usually concerned Krivitsky's personal and financial affairs. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] could not provide any exact dates of his meetings with Krivitsky.

Krivitsky never revealed to [REDACTED] either before or after entering the United States, any details concerning his intelligence activities, associates therein or communication methods utilized. As to possible sources in this regard, [REDACTED] suggested the French intelligence services and Max Shachtman of New York City, National Chairman of the Independent Socialist League with whom Krivitsky used to hold lengthy doctrinaire discussions in New York City.

[REDACTED] referred to Krivitsky's disclosure to him of negotiations between Russia and Germany concerning Poland. [REDACTED] believes Krivitsky told him of this in Amsterdam, Holland, in approximately 1936. [REDACTED] had gone there to contact the International Federation of Transport Workers, whose publications which were militantly anti-Nazi, were sought by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7c b7d  
[REDACTED] later traveled on business to Berlin, Germany, where he obtained additional information that corroborated Krivitsky's revelation of Russian-German negotiations and thereafter advised the State Department in a memorandum in general terms. [REDACTED] could not recall why Krivitsky was in Amsterdam when [REDACTED] was there but did not believe their concurrent trips to Amsterdam were by design. [REDACTED] now believes Krivitsky possibly revealed this information to him [REDACTED] as a prefatory step toward his later defection.

Concerning Paul Wohl, [REDACTED] said he has known him since 1926, when Wohl started to work that year in Paris, France, for the International Chamber of Commerce. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated he possessed little information as to Wohl's knowledge of Krivitsky's activities. He believes Wohl and Krivitsky became acquainted either as schoolmates or while both were engaged in anti-Nazi activities in France in the mid-1930's.

[REDACTED] advised he had never seen Ignace Reiss and had no knowledge of him except from public news media; that Krivitsky never mentioned Reiss to him.

[REDACTED] advised he had no knowledge of Krivitsky's secretary and knew of no one associated with him named Madeline. In this connection, he recalled seeing Krivitsky on one occasion in Amsterdam in the company of an attractive blonde woman who was about 30 years of age. Krivitsky introduced her to him but [REDACTED] could not recall her name.



b7c

COURIER SERVICE

Date: March 7, 1957

To: Mr. S. Tomlin Bailey  
 Director  
 Office of Security  
 Department of State  
 515 22nd Street, N. W. (orig. &  
 Washington, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] - INFORMATION CONCERNING  
 Your Reference SY/A

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 10-8-82 BY SP16SKIC

b7c

b7c

Enclosed are two copies of a memorandum reflecting the results of an interview of the captioned individual on March 1, 1957 in accordance with your request of January 10, 1957.

Based on the information developed to date this Bureau contemplates no further action under Executive Order 10450 in the absence of a specific request from you.

Enclosures (2)

cc - 100-11146

Walter  
 (Krivitsky)

ETB:dew  
 (9) | ENCLOSURE

NOTE: In connection with the above see memo Belmont to Boardman dated March 5, 1957, ETB:dew, same subject.

100-11146-✓  
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 140 MAR 20 1957

YELLOW  
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 MAR 8 1957  
 MAILED

71 MAR 25 1957

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-11146)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-59589)

SUBJECT: WALTER G. KRIVITSKY aka  
IS-R

DATE: 7/12/65

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

As the Bureau is aware, General WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, former Western European Head of Soviet Military Intelligence was found shot to death on 2/10/41 in his room in Bellevue Hotel in Washington, D.C. That death was listed as a suicide, although strong suspicion has continued to exist that in fact, the Soviets did away with KRIVITSKY.

On 11/26/59, POVL BANG-JENSEN, a Danish diplomat for 20 years and a Senior Political Officer at the UN, was found dead of a bullet wound in the right temple in Alley Pond Park at Little Neck, Queens, NY, and a 25 automatic was clutched in his hand. NYCPD listed the death as a suicide.

The Internal Security Sub-Committee of the Committee of the Judiciary of the United States Senate, 87th Congress, First Session, conducted hearings on that case and issued a report on 9/14/61 concerning their findings. In it they referred to the death of WALTER KRIVITSKY as well as those of LAWRENCE DUGGAN, a former Chief of the Latin American Division of the State Department, WALTER MARVIN SMITH, an attorney in the Office of the United States Solicitor General, as well as LOUIS ADAMIC and others. The sub-committee raises the question of suicide and murder as well as the problem of simulated or induced suicide and refers to the above mentioned cases in that connection and points out that it is common knowledge among those who have worked in the Soviet apparatus, that the Soviets have highly developed techniques for simulated-suicide. PETR S. DERIABIN, a former member of the Soviet Terror Apparatus who defected in 1954 stated "it is general knowledge among those who have worked in the ranks of the MVD that the MVD, when it undertakes the liquidation of a political

CLASS. BY SP1GSKJC REC-73

100-11146-134

2- Bureau  
1- New York

10-8-82 EX-113

WDD:gr  
(3)

Classified by 2333  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~TOP SECRET~~  
SECRET

12 JUL 15 1965

SOVIET SECTION  
SECRET

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NY 100-59589

opponent, has certain techniques for simulating suicide and other techniques for inducing suicide. A convincing suicide may take a year or two to prepare. During this period, the subject's life is examined minutely in order to determine the methods most suitable to his personality and circumstances. Meanwhile, stories may be circulated to the press, if possible, and at the very least among his neighbors, that the subject is despondent. This prepares the ground for plausible suicide story when the deed occurs. The report then states "simulating or inducing suicide are very real phenomena."

"Local police chiefs will be well advised to call in the FBI in any case of apparent suicide where there is some reason, even the slightest reason for believing that the Kremlin stood to benefit from the death of the deceased."

[REDACTED] b1  
(S) (TS)

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

FROM : Mr. W. O. Cregar

SUBJECT: WALTER KRIVITSKY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - RUSSIA

DATE 7/16/65

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

On 7/16/65, [REDACTED] advised the Liaison Agent of the following:

In the past few days an official of the Washington Post contacted [REDACTED]. This official advised [REDACTED] that he recently had engaged the services of Flora Lewis Grusson as a staff writer for the Post. In this capacity, Grusson was gathering material for a story on the many unanswered questions surrounding the death of the subject in Washington, D. C., in the early 1940s.

[REDACTED] suggested Grusson contact the Metropolitan Police Department inasmuch as the death of Krivitsky was a police matter. Grusson was also referred to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for possible background material. During the interview, Grusson indicated to [REDACTED] that she would also be contacting the FBI for material.

The above is being brought to the attention of the Soviet Section inasmuch as Liaison is aware that the Department of Justice had recently made inquiries as to the present whereabouts of Krivitsky.

## ACTION:

The above should be directed to the Soviet Section for their attention.

1 - Mr. Branigan  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. Cregar  
WOC:chs  
(4) *chs*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

REC-56

DATE 10-8-82 BY SP1GSKJC

100-11146-135

8 JUL 20 1965

56 JUL 27 1965

SOVIET SECTION

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO :

W. S. Thack / met

DATE: 2-16-66

FROM :

L. E. Short / 100

SUBJECT:

U.S. / 100

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The attached Memorandum has been received in the Records Branch, appropriately initialed, and indicated for file. By use of instant transmittal memorandum, all necessary recording and indexing will be accomplished. It is to be noted this form is for internal use only within the Records Branch, principally by the Routing Unit where bulky material not accompanied by memorandum is usually received.

The enclosure, if bulky and not usually filed with other papers in file, may be detached but this action should be clearly noted under the word "Enclosure."

ENCLOSURE  
ENCLOSURE  
FEB 17 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-8-82 BY SP1GSK JK

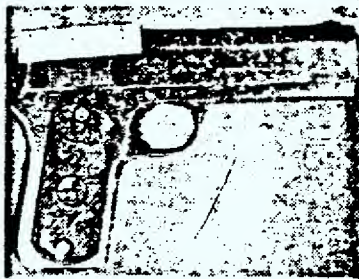
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5-7



SECTION E

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 13



By Flora Lewis

Washington Post Staff Writer

**T**HE MAID found the body at 9:30 Monday morning, Feb. 10, 1941, when she went in to clean up the room. She opened the door with a passkey that hung in the hall linen closet and saw the man's feet and legs on the bed, lying the wrong way round with the feet toward the head of the bed. He was wearing trousers and socks, so she went on in to ask what time she could come back without disturbing him. He didn't answer.

When the police sergeant came about half an hour later, the maid, Thelma Virginia Jackson, 21, told him: "So I walked on over to the bed and looked and I saw he had blood all over his head. . . Then I saw he wasn't breathing."

It was a modest description. A 130-grain mushroom bullet, the kind with a scooped head to make a larger wound, had been fired from a .38 automatic at close range. It had torn through the man's brains from the right temple to below the left ear, leaving a hole the size of a substantial potato. The bullet was lost somewhere in the hotel room wall. The dead man was slight, gray, unprepossessing, fully dressed apart from shoes and jacket. There was nothing about him or the room that looked important: a brown canvas satchel, a photograph of a boy, three notes written respectively in English, German and Russian. The gun, covered thickly with drying blood, lay on the floor.

### A Genteel Setting

**A**N OBVIOUS CASE of suicide, Det. Sgt. D. L. Guest concluded. He made the routine possession and identity checks, sent for the morgue wagon and left the hotel staff to clear up the mess.

The death of a guest is always an embarrassment for a hotel, and it was all the more jarring in the genteel but modest atmosphere of the Hotel Bellevue, 15 E st. n.w.

The dead man was not known at the Bellevue. He had come in only the afternoon before and had done or said nothing remarkable except to die. It seemed such a typical transient tragedy that the police were not even intrigued by the discovery that he had registered under the name of Walter Porel but carried in his pocket a formal affidavit identifying him as Samuel Ginsberg, born in Russia in 1880.

The note in English was in an envelope addressed to Louis Waldman, 205 Broadway, New York. Accustomed to misleading hotel registrations and noticeably thinking little of it, Washing-

# Who Killed K

## 25 Years Ago, a Soviet Master Some Called It Suicide, Others



He immediately identified Ginsberg as Walter Krivitsky, formerly chief of Soviet military intelligence in Western Europe, a master spy who had known many secrets, turned against Stalin and spilled a few, been marked and hunted since by Soviet agents.

More than once Krivitsky had said to Waldman, who was his lawyer, "If ever I am found dead and it looks like an accident or suicide, don't believe it. They are after me. They have tried

to the Bellevue to look at room 532, a simple room furnished with narrow twin beds, dresser, desk, chair and a reproduction of a forest scene. The police said the door had been locked from the inside. The maid had not said whether she tested the door or not, only that she had stuck her passkey in the hole and opened it.

The window, overlooking what was then a jumble of shacks and is now a parking lot, was open a few inches. But

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found



## ed Krivitsky?

et Master Spy Was Shot Here;  
icide, Others Cried Murder



me to be just like all foreign people, quiet and solemn." John Vernon Wilson, 30, the elevator operator, said to the same question. "He seemed to be just like anyone else would be."

There was no sign of a scuffle in the room and nothing appeared to have been removed or disordered.

### A Trotsky Parallel

**I**N ADDITION to Waldman, most of Krivitsky's friends and a number of other people who knew of him but had not met him made immediate public statements of their conviction that he had been murdered by the Soviet secret police.

Mrs. Leon Trotsky, widow of the revolutionary leader who had been murdered in Mexico the summer before, declared: "Krivitsky's death was not a suicide. That suicide theory is just one of the OGPU's many schemes to attempt to cover up its murders. Stalinists, for example, tried to make the first unsuccessful attempt on Trotsky appear as self-assault."

Alexander Kerensky, head of the short-lived Russian government that overthrew the Czar and fell to the Bolsheviks, said in New York: "I am sure it was murder. . . . If it was not a murder, then it was a suicide provoked by a direct menace. I understand that they had been menacing his son, whom he loved dearly."

Krivitsky's widow had no doubt that her husband had been killed. Suzanne LaFollette, a close friend to whom the note in German was addressed, said that Krivitsky had previously been approached by three OGPU agents. "One of them told him to stay out of the midtown area of New York if he didn't want to get into trouble. The man said, 'We work in threes and we've been on the lookout for you constantly.'"

### A Newspaper Flurry

**A**LL THIS was prominently published in Washington, New York and other major newspapers for a day or two after his death. For about ten days more, Hearst papers and various columnists who regularly called attention to Communist activities gave spectacular reviews of Krivitsky's dramatic story and echoed the demand for an official investigation of his death. Several newspapers and columnists sympathetic to the left counter-attacked with fierce mockery at the suggestion that Stalin's arm reached to a Washington hotel room.

But nobody did anything; there

room 532, a with narrow chair and a scene. The been locked but not said or not, only shes in the what was and is now a

have opened to almost anything, including a sturdy toothpick.

### Neighbors Both Sides

**T**HE SUITE to the left of Krivitsky's room and the room to the right had been occupied. The walls and doors are not thick. Sometimes hotel residents complained of hearing every telephone conversation, every snore and snort of their neighbors.

There was no silence on the way

when there are few other sounds to muffle a shot.

No one knew of any calls or visitors for the man in 532, though the hotel is big enough for people to come and go at normal hours without attracting notice. From the time he entered his room until he was carried away to the morgue, the only evident activity of the man in 532 as far as the hotel staff knew had been to order a bottle of club soda.



\_\_\_\_\_

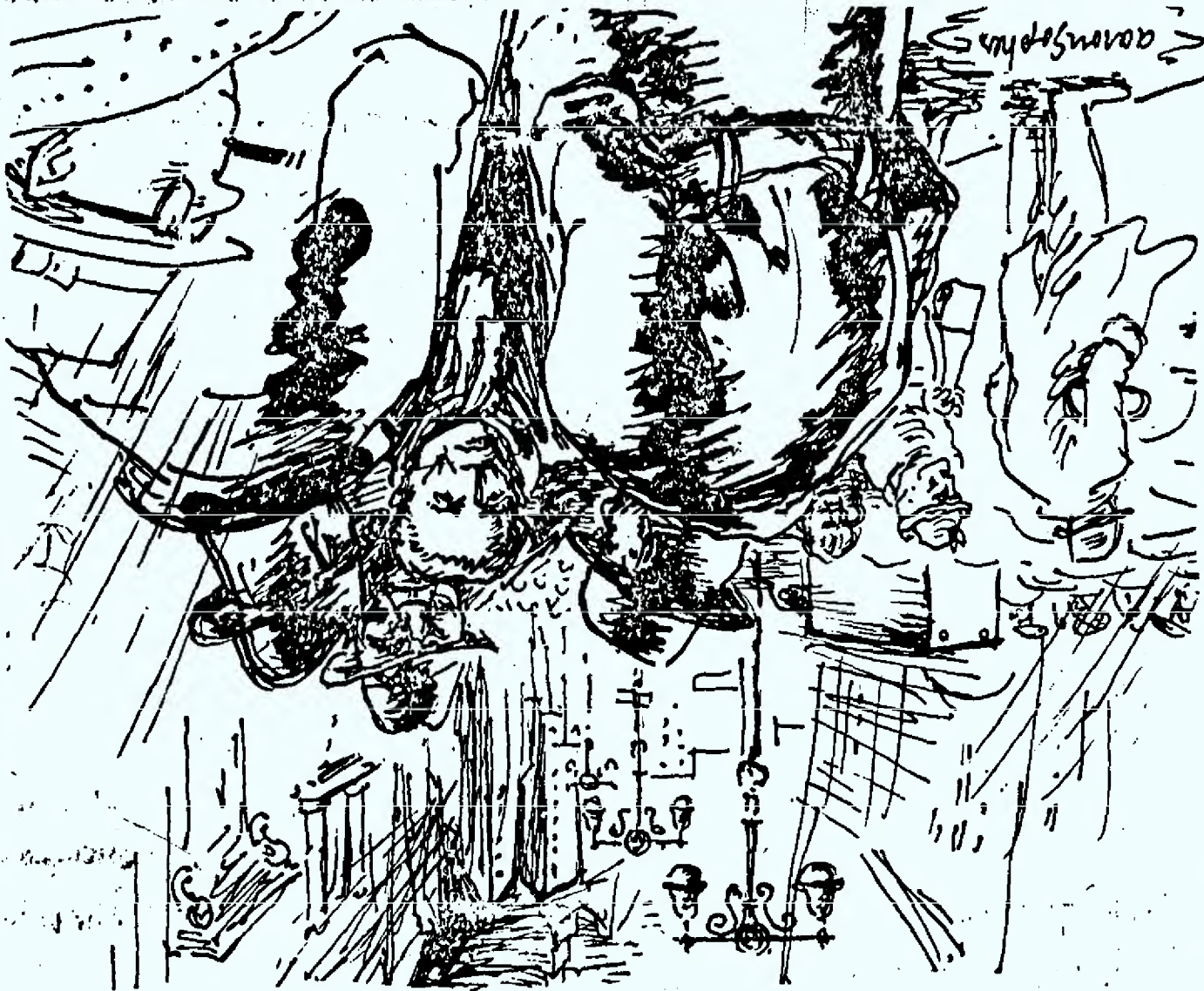
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It was a modest description. A 130-lb. mushroom bullet, the kind with a coped head to make a larger wound, had been fired from a .38 automatic close range. It had torn through man's brains from the right temple.

...the floor.  
...er thickly with drying blood, lay  
...German and Russian. The gun,  
...written respectively in Eng-  
...a photograph of a boy,  
...most noted important, a German

the dead man was not known at the time. He had come in only the afternoon before and had done or said nothing.

dest atmosphere of the Hotel Belle-  
vue, 13 E. 41. st. n.w.



27. The witness has no information to look at room 122, a have opened to almost anything, in- when there are few other sounds to

**A Trotsky Parallel**

not a suicide. That suicide theory is just one of the O.J.'s many schemes to attempt to cover up the murders. Kallinik, for example, tried to make the first unsuccessful attempt on Tolsty appear as self-defense."

Krivitsky's widow had no doubt that Krivitsky had previously been a close friend to whom the note in German was addressed, and that Krivitsky had previously been a close friend to whom the note in German was addressed, and that Krivitsky had previously been a close friend to whom the note in German was addressed.

ALL THIS was prominently published in Washington, New York and other major newspapers for a day or two after his death. For about a week more, liberal papers and various columns who regularly carried articles





## Rep. Martin Dies, left, Listened to Krivitsky But Heard Very Little

### MYSTERY From Page K1

In those months about the death of one strange and difficult man.

But he had been an extraordinary man. His life also was extraordinary, its secrets enmeshed with the ugly secrets of a world in venomous struggle.

Now, a quarter of a century after his death, the FBI files on Krivitsky and those inherited by the CIA remain sealed, as are Moscow's files. In part, that is probably because they identify agents and double agents who are still active or might turn up again.

Mostly, though, it must be because the things in which Krivitsky was embroiled cast a long, unpleasant shadow that has not yet blurred painlessly with history. On the contrary, time has sharpened outlines that were hopelessly confused when Krivitsky lived and died.

### A Period Illuminated

THE WAY the world has gone has unraveled some of the mystery around the man with his head blown to pieces on a hotel bed, and Krivitsky's mystery holds clues to larger riddles. If there is still no certain solution, there is enlightening evidence in the case about a period and a kind of mentality that spawned some of the aching problems of today. In Washington's bland reaction at the time lay also one of the keys to its later travails.

One way or another, the tragedy can be traced with a certain logical inevitability to Krivitsky's life and times. His name at birth was indeed Samuel Ginsberg. What he first saw of the world was the dusty lethargy of the small town of Podwoloczyska, Russian-ruled when he was born June 28, 1896, Polish between the great wars and part of Russia again after the shift in Poland's borders following World War II.

Jews in such small towns lived pressed warmly together against a hostile, heavy-handed world, a life rich in melancholy and abrasives to sharpen the wits of those who had them. Schmalka Ginsberg did. Sensitive, keen-minded, alert, he grew into a slight but wiry child, independent, passionately eager to throw his meager weight against the oppressiveness of the world he saw.

Later he wrote: "At the age of 13 I had entered the working-class movement. It was a half-mature, half-childish act. I heard the plaintive melodies of my suffering race mingled with new songs of freedom."

"But in 1917, I was a youngster of 18, and the Bolshevik Revolution came to me as an absolute solution of all problems of poverty, inequality, injustice. I joined the Bolshevik Party with my whole soul. I seized the Marxist and Leninist faith as a weapon with which to assault all the wrongs against which I had instinctively rebelled."

### Behind-Line Saboteur

IT WAS NOT an idle metaphor. Like many of his comrades, Ginsberg took a revolutionary name—Walter Krivitsky—and became a serious fighter, tough, careful, established by sev-

eratory or feverish agitation. Even when propaganda was part of his job, he was the organizer, the arranger of deals and coups, not the spouter.

His first experience as an export technician in revolution came in Germany in 1923. Lenin thought the Bolsheviks could not survive without another major industrial country as partner, and he thought that Germans, despoiled by inflation and fuming with anger at French occupation of the Rhineland were ripe for revolt.

It was a devastating miscalculation for the German Communists, who were crushed. But the ardent Krivitsky determined to save something from the wreckage. Out of the organization built to make a German revolution, he created an extensive network of reliable agents.

Despite many later disasters, the roots were firm enough to provide top-level intelligence from the German high command throughout World War II. So prompt and efficient was the system that there were times when Soviet commanders at the front must have received almost simultaneously the disposition and attack orders sent from Berlin to the Nazi commanders facing them.

### Revolutionary Romance

THROUGHOUT THE twenties, Krivitsky moved surreptitiously from Moscow to France, Holland, Switzerland, Italy and Austria. He had not gone unnoticed when he tried to organize a Red German army, however, and in 1926 he had to hide out from the Berlin police in the Soviet Embassy for two months. After that, he dealt with the German network mostly from the periphery.

In Vienna at one point, he met another Soviet revolutionist, a striking blond named Antonina Porfirjeva. She was from Leningrad (St. Petersburg when she was born there Feb. 18, 1902) and as different from Krivitsky as the sparkling Russian north from the heavy-scented, swarthy south.

He was the intense, electric-minded intellectual. She was the broad-shouldered, sentimental Slav, to him the sturdy, all-embracing soul of Mother Russia. They shared their devotion to the Soviet cause and it was not necessary to sort out whether ideology counted a little more for one and proud patriotism for the other, since the two urges fused for both in glowing satisfaction.

In 1926, they married in Moscow. The marriage register gave his name as Walter Krivitsky. The Ginsberg past was far behind him. The reality was the revolutionary.

Necessity made it an intricate and shifting reality. They lived in many places under many names, carried many different colored passports.

Once, Krivitsky told a friend much later, he was traveling north from Rome on an Italian train. He was engaged in obtaining for Russia the blueprints of a new Italian submarine. The task took over a year and many trips, but was successful in the end.

Extracts of the highest secrets

tant precision instrument that could spring to understanding of the most devious manipulations at a nudge from the simplest, most trivial-seeming facts.

"I saw from him how a master spy's mind works," his American lawyer, Louis Waldman, recalled later. "One day we were coming back from Ellis Island on the ferry after an immigration hearing. Krivitsky was reading the papers. The headlines were full of negotiations going on in Europe for collective security against the Germans."

"It must have been late 1938 or early 1939. He didn't pay much attention to the main news, but suddenly way in the back of the paper he saw a paragraph item and grew terribly excited."

"Look at this," he shouted. "There's going to be a war. Stalin will move against Poland."

"The item," Waldman continued, "was a dull little bit about the use of old films from the 1918-20 Russo-Polish war in the new training course for the Red Army. Krivitsky said it meant that secret preparations had started for a Soviet move on Poland and that Red Army soldiers were being insidiously accustomed to consider Poles as the obvious enemy. It seemed absolutely preposterous at the time."

### A Distressing Order

FROM WHAT he said afterward, Krivitsky's soul no doubt squirmed with disappointment and distaste at many things he saw and foresaw in Russia all through the bewildering thirties. But he believed in his cause and he was trained to serve it without question.

It distressed him when, in December, 1936, a time when Hitler was dumping Communists in concentration camps and Moscow was publicly scouring the world for allies against Germany, to be told that his espionage network in Germany must be slashed. Moscow and Berlin were on the verge of an agreement, he was told, and nothing must be done to upset Hitler. Still, he obeyed.

It was in September, 1935, that Krivitsky established himself as chief of Soviet military intelligence in Western Europe. He had offices in Paris, agents everywhere, and made his headquarters comfortably in The Hague, where he posed as an Austrian dealer in rare books. His wife Tonya and small son Alek, born not long before, accompanied him there. Outwardly, he led the roving but placid existence of a collector of handsome, interesting, harmless old volumes. In fact, it was a life with sudden bursts of frenetic activity, breathless dashes from city to city, excruciating periods of enforced waiting, and always nagging worries.

### A Literal Cover

SOON AFTER he settled in The Hague, Krivitsky got his first lead on what was to become a major espionage coup and old books became not only the cover for a spy but themselves a repository of secrets.

Germany and Japan, he learned, were

"such

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But it wasn't always easy. Each trip  
back to Moscow chewed further at the  
galvanized protection against doubt.  
The terror there, as the juggernaut of  
the purges rolled on, was undeniable.  
The Revolution had been god. Now, in  
the mid-thirties, Stalin had come to pro-  
claim himself the Revolution.

Penetrating minds like Krivitsky's  
trembled, and ahrank to find solace in  
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"Would Stalin dare to shoot a figure  
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moment? Would he dare to leave the  
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enemies by decapitating the Red

after midnight, Spiegelglass went out  
apparently to confer with other agents  
stationed nearby. Each time, Krivitsky  
sneaked to a pay telephone, called  
Reiss and hung up as soon as there  
was an answer. It would have been  
beyond daring to say even one word.

Reiss understood at last and fled at  
dawn the next morning. He didn't last  
long, though. On Sept. 4, 1937, Reiss's  
body, riddled with machine gun bullets,  
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The Swiss police acted quickly and  
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It was at the end of September,

over there. I will not go to certain  
slaughter."

#### Aided by French

TONYA KRIVITSKY decided to de-  
fect with her husband. The escape  
had to be carefully planned. Krivitsky  
planned it with the same detailed care  
he had always given to his work. Paul  
Wohl, a Central European who had  
known him before, helped him and  
secured the protection of the French  
police and the patronage of the French  
Socialist Premier, Leon Blum.

The Krivitskys surrendered their  
false documents to the French Min-  
ister of Interior, and in the appeal for  
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Dutchman named Hans Bruesse, whom



Russia again after the shift in Poland's borders following World War II. Jews in such small towns lived close together against a hostile, heavy-handed world, a life rich in melancholy and abrasives to sharpen the wits of those who had them. Schmei-Ginsberg did. Sensitive, keen-minded, alert, he grew into a slight but sturdy child, independent, passionately eager to throw his meager weight against the oppressiveness of the world he saw.

Later he wrote: "At the age of 13 had entered the working-class movement. It was a half-mature, half-childish act. I heard the plaintive melodies of my suffering race mingled with new songs of freedom."

"But in 1917, I was a youngster of 14, and the Bolshevik Revolution came to me as an absolute solution of all problems of poverty, inequality, injustice. I joined the Bolshevik Party with my whole soul. I seized the Marxist-Leninist faith as a weapon with which to assault all the wrongs against which I had instinctively rebelled."

#### Behind-Lines Saboteur

IT WAS NOT an idle metaphor. Like many of his comrades, Ginsberg took a revolutionary name—Walter Krivitsky—and became a serious fighter, tough, glib, uninhibited by any other ties in devotion to his cause. He was worth more than the gun he carried.

In the Russian civil war that followed the revolution, he was sent behind the White army's lines in the Ukraine to organize sabotage, intelligence, resistance at the enemy's rear. He so distinguished himself at these guerrilla tasks, which he called "missions of a revolutionary-military character," that at the conclusion of the war he was sent to the Red army's general staff courses and assigned to military intelligence.

It was still the proletarian-style army of Trotsky's creation, without formal rank, and Krivitsky's position of Kombrig (commander of a brigade) did not entitle him to be addressed as general, though it was the equivalent of brigadier. Later he was made Komdiv (commander of a division), the equivalent of major general.

But his assignments were always revolutionary-military, with emphasis on the former, though in a hard-nosed, practical way without much windy

other Soviet revolutionist, a striking blond named Antonina Porfirjeva. She was from Leningrad (St. Petersburg when it is born there Feb. 13, 1902) and as different from Krivitsky as the sparkling Russian north from the heavy-scented, swarthy south.

He was the intense, electric-minded intellectual. She was the broad-checked, sentimental Slav, to him the sturdy, all-embracing soul of Mother Russia. They shared their devotion to the Soviet cause and it was not necessary to sort out whether ideology counted a little more for one and proud patriotism for the other, since the two urges fused for both in glowing satisfaction.

In 1926, they married in Moscow. The marriage register gave his name as Walter Krivitsky. The Ginsberg past was far behind him. The reality was the revolutionary.

Necessity made it an intricate and shifting reality. They lived in many places under many names, carried many different colored passports.

Once, Krivitsky told a friend much later, he was traveling north from Rome on an Italian train. He was engaged in obtaining for Russia the blueprints of a new Italian submarine. The task took over a year and many trips, but was successful in the end.

Extractors of the highest secrets must be highly secretive. An old acquaintance happened to see Krivitsky on the train and greeted him for what he was, a good and long-standing friend. "I just stared blankly at him," Krivitsky said, "as though I didn't even speak his language."

He had learned to perfection all the arts of espionage, including the suppression of instinctive little human reactions and total attention to detail, which are the hardest. Such well-tempered armor is bound to steel the man inside, as well.

#### Early Anti-Stalinist

THAT HARDNESS helped as Krivitsky unavoidably noticed the way reality was shifting inside the Soviet Union. He wrote later with cold but savage contempt of the way Stalin maneuvered the Red Army into supporting the vicious collectivization drive of the 1930s and the initial purges of Old Bolsheviks.

Krivitsky always knew what was going on, partly because of his position and partly because of his mind, a

and Moscow was publicly accusing the world for allies against Germany, to be told that a spy network in Germany must be located. Moscow and Berlin were on the verge of an agreement, he was told, and nothing must be done to upset Hitler. Still, he obeyed.

It was in September, 1935, that Krivitsky established himself as chief of Soviet military intelligence in Western Europe. He had offices in Paris, agents everywhere, and made his headquarters comfortably in The Hague, where he posed as an Austrian dealer in rare books. His wife Tonya and small son Alek, born not long before, accompanied him there. Outwardly, he led the roving but placid existence of a collector of handsome, interesting, harmless old volumes. In fact, it was a life with sudden bursts of frenetic activity, breathless dashes from city to city, excruciating periods of enforced waiting, and always nagging worries.

#### A Literal Cover

SOON AFTER he settled in The Hague, Krivitsky got his first lead on what was to become a major espionage coup and old books became not only the cover for a spy but themselves a repository of secrets.

Germany and Japan, he learned, were secretly negotiating an agreement that would mean war in the Pacific as well as in Europe when the moment came. It was of vital importance to the Soviet Union, not only because of the military meaning of possible war on two fronts of its vast territory but also because Stalin himself was secretly seeking an exclusive agreement with Hitler.

Krivitsky's performance was a masterpiece of intrigue. The German-Japanese talks were so secret that not even the German Foreign Office knew they were taking place. It was not possible to penetrate them from the German side. However, the Nazis had succeeded in breaking—or perhaps stealing—the Japanese diplomatic codes.

Krivitsky managed to buy the codes from the SS, though without of course explaining how Soviet intelligence meant to use them. They were smuggled out of Berlin in a valuable early edition of Francis Bacon, secretly marked with markings to indicate the coding keys.

Then Krivitsky's agents in Berlin got hold of the full file of the Japanese negotiator's cabled reports to Tokyo on the talks and established a tap on further correspondence. The files were smuggled out on microfilm. With the codes, a first-rate translator of Japanese, microfilm technicians and couriers, Krivitsky worked feverishly in Holland to speed the sinister news to Moscow.

Later, with the pylons for this network well established, he was also able to tell Moscow of the secret Japanese decision not to attack the Soviet Union in the event of a Pacific war. That was information worth many divisions.

#### Even Used Fascists

MOST OF THE people he worked with were trusted Communists, but not all. His task was concrete action and he used whatever tools he found.

In the case of the Italian submarine, the key to success was a high-ranking Fascist who loved money even more than he loved Mussolini.

Krivitsky's duty and his interests brought him intimate knowledge of the underside of high politics in Russia and Western Europe, and he had learned to take it as it came. In his mind's eye, he was still an idealist, driven purely by the passion for a better, kinder world. But his mind's hands had grown horny in dealing with harsh facts and his mind's stomach had been tured against revolution.

He was the complete professional,

The terror of the purges re-  
The Revolution  
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#### After War

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wrote: "It is as  
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Washington Post Photo

Attorney Louis Waldman, center, rushed to the morgue to view Walter Krivitsky's body and claim he was murdered.



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"Would Stalin dare to shoot a figure like Marshal Tukhachevsky or a leader like Gamarnik, Vice Commissar of War (and Krivitsky's admired chief in intel- ligence), at such a critical international moment? Would he dare to leave the Soviet power defenseless before its enemies by decapitating the Red Army?"

Stalin did. Krivitsky quivered but said nothing. When he went to Moscow in March, 1937, Krivitsky felt after a time that the delay in being sent back to his post was getting ominous. Stoi- cally, he messaged his wife in The Hague to prepare to return to Moscow with their child, though by then no army officer could be sure of survival at home.

When, after all, he was dispatched once more to Western Europe, he took his reassignment as bestowal by Stalin "of the highest testimonial of loyalty within his power." There was some pride in that, despite the waves of nauseous misgiving he had begun to feel.

For another top Soviet agent, an old and close comrade of Krivitsky's, the pride was already drowned by over- whelming disgust and disillusion. Ig- natz Reiss, who worked under the code name of Ludwig in Western Eu- rope and had connections with Ameri- ca, could swallow the ravishments of his beliefs no longer. He wrote a letter to Stalin, and he wrote to his favorites in the network under him, declaring his defection.

Krivitsky knew that Reiss was wa- vering. A few hours before an appoint- ment with his friend, at which Reiss presumably meant to reveal his deci- sion, a high Soviet police official insisted on seeing Krivitsky in Paris. The police, then called the OGPU, had gradually moved in on military intelli- gence so that all Soviet agents abroad came under OGPU orders.

Spiegelglass, the police official sent specially from Moscow, showed Krivi- sky the letter Reiss had just written. He had intercepted it before it even left Paris. The letter ended: "No, I cannot continue any longer. I am re- turning to freedom. Back to Lenin, to his teachings and his cause." Then Krivitsky was cautiously but unmistak- ably asked to help trap his friend "the traitor."

#### A Silent Caller

HE DELAYED and evaded, manag- ing to warn Reiss to escape. The technique of warning that Krivitsky chose captured precisely the nightmare fantasy of the atmosphere among "comrades" in that summer of 1937.

He was sitting with Spiegelglass and another agent in a restaurant at the Paris World Fair. There was gaiety, mindless pleasure, light-hearted ele- gance around them. From time to time

down the next morning. He didn't last long, though. On Sept. 4, 1937, Reiss's body, riddled with machine gun bullets was found beside a lonely road in Switzerland.

The Swiss police acted quickly and energetically. That assassination was solved: murder by the OGPU after Reiss had been lured to a rendezvous by a woman who had worked under him and had hinted that she was about to join him in defection.

Krivitsky felt sure that he had badly blotted his copybook by refusing to help kill Reiss. After that, he too was under constant surveillance by Soviet agents in Paris.

The Reiss murder carried his mental processes one step further. Even the intimate loyalty to a dear friend was not to be allowed him. He still planned to return to Moscow, but he had come to understand, as he later wrote, that "the choice before me was between a sure bullet in the Lubianks (the OGPU headquarters and prison in Moscow) from Stalin's formal assassins and a rain of bullets from a machine gun out- side Russia from Stalin's informal assassins."

It was at the end of September, dogged at every step, that he made what he called "the momentous deci- sion of my life." His wife asked him his chances for survival if they returned to Moscow. He answered, he wrote later, that there was none.

"But there is no reason you should be punished on account of me," he added. "When you get back, they will make you sign a paper repudiating me and denouncing me as a traitor. As a reward for this, you and our child will be spared. As for me, it's sure death



Berle & Reiss Photo  
Adolf Berle, whose warnings about Russian spies were ignored, leaves the White House in 1938 when he was an Assistant Secretary of State.

known him before, helped him and secured the protection of the French police and the patronage of the French Socialist Premier, Leon Blum.

The Krivitskys surrendered their false documents to the French Minister of Interior, and in the appeal for asylum, Krivitsky wrote: "I know that a price has been put on my head. The assassins are after me, and they will not spare even my wife or child."

(He knew that Gertrud Schildbach, who had lured Ignatz Reiss to his death, had been ordered to kill Reiss by giving the family a box of chocolates filled with strychnine. She was fond of the Reiss child and apparently could not bring herself to do this, so the roadside ambushade was arranged instead. The poisoned chocolates were found in her Lausanne hotel room after she had died.)

Krivitsky added in his appeal, "I have often risked my life for my cause, but I do not wish to die for nothing."

It was on Oct. 8, 1937, that Krivitsky finally made his break. Twice in the months that followed in France, he was approached by a handsome young Dutchman named Hans Bruesse, whom Krivitsky had recruited for the Soviet service. The first encounter convinced him that Bruesse, who had been an extremely warm friend, had been de- tailed to lure him to the same fate as that of Reiss.

Krivitsky was wary, he knew the tricks. The French police were vigilant. They guarded him night and day. But the detective inspector assigned to him was unable to catch Bruesse and three colleagues when an actual attempt was made on Krivitsky.

Krivitsky decided that he must go much farther from Moscow in search of a life at peace. Paul Wohl helped him get to the United States. He ar- rived early in 1938, preceded by a buzz of excitement among the small circle of Russian exiles and journalists who followed Soviet affairs closely and had read the few anti-Stalinist articles which Krivitsky published in European socialist newspapers after his defec- tion.

They knew that he carried treasures of information in his head, even about Soviet, secret activities in America, though he had never worked here. No- body else in the United States had ever heard of Krivitsky, nor paid him any attention now.

#### Stalin His Scapegoat

HE KNEW the details of many kid- nappings and executions carried out by Soviet agents far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. He also knew the Soviet mentality—perhaps the only one he knew. It allowed, in Stalin's time at least, for no wavering. There could be no such thing as resig- nation from a task assigned because it caused a crisis of conscience. He who did not obey perfectly, accept everything, was a traitor.

In his own heart, Krivitsky found an answer for himself. He still loved the revolutionary ideals that had become the meaning of his life, but he hated Stalin. It was Stalin, he reasoned, who had betrayed the revolution, not those whom Stalin called traitors.

But Krivitsky knew that his view had the force of a flea against an elephant in the power circumstances of the time. By Moscow's definition, he was a traitor and marked for pun- ishment. There was method in Mos- cow's attitude. Men like Krivitsky knew too much. And if they got away, their example might encourage others.

Even when he came to the United States, Krivitsky knew he could never  
Continued on Next Page





A police file photo of Walter Krivitsky with his real name scribbled on the side.

**MYSTERY** From Previous Page  
really share the comfortable safety that was taken for granted by the crowds he mingled with on the street. It distressed and at the same time profoundly impressed him.

Once, when he recognized a Soviet agent in New York and called the police in fear, he was told that nothing could be done because it is impossible to arrest a person in the United States before a crime is attempted.

"Imagine," he told his friend Suzanne LaFollette. "What a wonderful country. People are free unless they actually commit crimes." By that time, in Russia, it was getting to seem that only criminals could go free. Things were different in the United States, much more than Krivitsky at first realized. In this country, too, it was a strange time.

#### A Time of Schism

**T**HE TERRIBLE strains of the depression were over, but in many ways this was still a divided and bewildered country when Walter Krivitsky arrived in early 1938. President Roosevelt was trying, gradually and cautiously, to bring the country to a mood of support for the European democracies against the wild blatherings of Hitler.

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was putting off in the small planes of the time for reconciliation meetings with Hitler.

Krivitsky knew the dirty little truths that made up so much of what was really going on. Sometimes it grieved him; sometimes it made him bitterly impatient that Americans not only did not know, but so often refused to listen.

#### An Upstate Refuge

**F**ROM HIS POINT of view, America must have looked full of contradictory quirks. He had a wife and small son, no money, no profession but revisionist and spy, which were not on the "help wanted" lists. A number of people were kind to him; a cottage was found for him in upstate New York and he spent the summer there, catching his breath.

Another refugee couple, Eitel and Marguerite Dobert, lived nearby. Dobert had been a Nazi in his youth, had quit in disgust as Hitler came to power and was as obsessed as Krivitsky with the politics of Europe. The families became close friends. Other friends, mainly Paul Wohl at the beginning, sought to help Krivitsky launch his new life.

## He lost reality as a man and

and collaborators. Friends introduced him to Isaac Don Levine, a Russian-speaking writer fluent in the special skills of popular journalism, highly knowledgeable in Communist affairs, warm, voluble and above all judicious in marketing exciting articles.

Krivitsky could make a series of hair-raising revelations. Don Levine automatically sought the widest, most rewarding market. The Saturday Evening Post agreed to pay \$5000 each for a series of up to eight articles on Levine's word alone of what could be expected. In the end, only five were produced. For a penniless political refugee, it was a fortune.

And it proved to be a serious, finally overwhelming, problem. Don Levine knew his public and how to attract them. The first article, detailing underhanded Soviet machinations in Spain, set the subject and then began: "I happen to be the sole survivor abroad of the group of Soviet officers and officials who had a direct hand in organizing Soviet intervention in Spain, and am the only one who is now free to bare this dramatic chapter of current history. . . . I was on the inside. . . . I held in my hands the main keys to Stalin's foreign policy. . . ."

It was effective, but it wasn't Krivitsky's tone of voice or cast of mind. He would have preferred sedate, analytical articles on the Foreign Affairs Quarterly model or, even better, in the heavy, guttural tones of the European socialist journals. But Levine knew that the Saturday Evening Post wasn't paying \$5000 a piece to bore its readers.

#### Between Two Desires

**L**EVINE DRAMATIZED and sharpened and personalized. Krivitsky squabbled and complained bitterly. Levine wanted details, names, precise sensations. Krivitsky held back, ducked, bickered, torn between the satisfaction of revealing Stalin's monstrous conspiracies and lies and the desire still to protect old comrades, old ideals, old devotions.

He still loved Russia. Sometimes, he told a friend, he would go down to the New York docks just to stare for hours at the Russian ships in the harbor. The nostalgia was not only for a country; it was also for a faith. Not communism but Stalinism was what he wanted to condemn.

Neither Stalin nor America conceived that there might be a difference. Both sides insisted that a man could only be totally for or totally against both. It angered Krivitsky that his disclosures were indeed made to serve those he had always considered enemies of the revolution, but it was not possible to trace a subtle path.

What he had to tell the American public was truly sensational. He told of large-scale Communist counterfeiting of American money to finance propaganda in this country, Communist forgeries and fakes to set the Moscow show trials, Communist terror and murder and conspiracy. Most startling of all, he told in 1938 that Stalin had ordered Communist collusion with Nazis on several occasions and had been seeking an agreement with Hitler steadily since 1934.

Only the most active, almost professional anti-Communists were able to believe that. It was a devastating

were bad, Stalin, whom he attacked, must be good. If Stalin were bad, how could people be aroused against Hitler?

That was the reasoning of many honest people, or rather it was the emotional urge that suppressed clear reasoning. It led not only to a tolerance of Communist sympathies in the government and intellectual society, but to an irritated intolerance of those who denigrated communism.

#### A Commie Target

**A**LL THROUGH the thirties, the despair of the depression and the doubts it nurtured about the competence of the democratic system in modern society had tightened the lines on both sides of the ideological tug-of-war in America. There was no climate for objective assessment of facts. For each side, there was an identifiable set of bad guys and all the others were accepted as more or less good, regardless of actual behavior.

The dominant voices of Washington had correctly identified the wickedness of Nazism and did not want to blur the danger signal with undertones. The effect tended to separate anti-Nazis and anti-Communists and make each more strident in their efforts to register the more impressively.

American Communists organized deliberately to promote this effect. They scornfully attacked even those who made moderate criticisms of communism, Russia and Stalin. Krivitsky, who knew names and dates and places with exactitude, was a serious setback and therefore a major target.

It was all the worse for them that his revelations were trumpeted across the country by the Saturday Evening Post at its most sensational, rather than in some dusty polemical pamphlet which might have satisfied Krivitsky. An answer was inescapable.

At first, the Daily Worker and the New Masses insisted that Krivitsky simply did not exist. He was, they argued, an invention of the extreme right devilishly concocted to spread lies about the left. But he did exist. He gave newspaper interviews, had his picture taken.

Then the Communist papers announced that he had invented himself, that he was really only Schmucka Ginsberg, "a well-known habitue of Paris cafes" but never a Soviet agent, let alone an intelligence chief. The \$25,000 from the Saturday Evening Post was made to sound a proof of venality. The arguments did not erase Krivitsky from the scene, but they did succeed in giving him a highly distasteful, suspect aura.

In the public print, he lost reality as a man and became a windy controversy. Somehow, he couldn't make his facts weigh, only the fury that surrounded them. It was an ironic contradiction of the sharp-edged, hard-minded man he was.

#### Friendships Sour

**O**THER EXILES who might have shared his attitudes quarreled with him, partly no doubt out of envy for the money and attention he had won in a country that ignored their own particular abilities. He was hard to befriend, convinced by his own success that he knew best how to conduct his affairs and cynically mistrustful from terrible experience.



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former sailor from the Crimea. It was  
in a cafeteria on 42d Street, something  
of a rendezvous for OGPU men in the  
United States, as it turned out.

Basoff was with several others who  
followed ominously. Krivitsky was  
scurvy. He knew of Soviet kidnappings  
in Paris, of the Reiss murder, of the  
American woman Julia Stuart Poyntz  
who vanished outside her New York  
hotel one day; and of the way a  
drugged man could be smuggled  
aboard a Soviet ship and disappear  
forever.

With cunning, Krivitsky maneuvered  
Basoff into following him to the New  
York Times building nearby. There he  
had a friend who summoned half a  
dozen other friends. For a time, Krivi-  
sky talked there with Basoff, who re-  
vealed that Antonina Krivitsky's  
brothers, both engineers and Commu-  
nists, had been executed along with  
the rest of her family in Leningrad be-  
cause they were related to defectors.

When Basoff left, his unidentified  
companions kept guard at the entrance  
to the New York Times. It took a  
whole conspiratorial arrangement car-  
ried out many hours later to spirit  
Krivitsky away to a friend's apart-  
ment. There he spent most of the  
night, waiting until he could be sure  
that there was no one to observe him  
going to Riverside Drive, where he  
lived under a false name.

There were other encounters. Some-  
times Krivitsky called the police; they  
could do nothing for him. It had been  
better in France, where his sponsor  
Leon Blum had made sure he was pro-  
tected. He knew he needed some of-  
ficial backing.

### Dovetailed With Chambers

MEANWHILE, his prediction of a  
Nazi-Soviet pact came stunningly  
true, and a few days later, Europe was  
at war. Both his lawyer Louis Waldman  
and his collaborator Isaac Don Levine  
realized that Krivitsky could help the  
cause of the West and so help himself  
by establishing a claim for concern  
about his safety. They went about  
arranging contacts for him separately.

Levine introduced Krivitsky to Whit-  
taker Chambers, a former Soviet agent  
in the United States who had quit and  
gone to work for Time magazine but  
had not spoken publicly of his under-  
ground existence. It was an exciting  
meeting.

The two men sat in Levine's apart-  
ment exchanging experiences, discover-  
ing as they went along that again and  
again one had the missing pieces to the  
other's jigsaw puzzle. They found, com-  
paring dates and places and descrip-  
tions and plots, that they knew a  
number of the same agents though  
often by different names.

Long after midnight, Levine went to  
bed and left Chambers talking. When he  
woke the next morning, not early, they  
were still at it. Much that had seemed  
mysterious looked clearer.

That led to another meeting, later  
famous, and lighted a fuse that eventu-  
ally exploded into the McCarthy period. It fits later in the story. But the  
first Krivitsky-Chambers session was  
an important element in what devel-  
oped because Levine saw that the two  
men, who had worked for Moscow  
quite independently of each other,  
confirmed key parts of each other's

Levine and Waldman of one and per-  
haps two Soviet agents in key positions  
in Britain.

An appointment was made with Loy  
Henderson, an Assistant Secretary of  
State. Henderson passed Krivitsky on  
to the British Embassy. The Marquis  
of Lothian was Ambassador.

As Don Levine had feared, the first  
meeting went badly. The elegant Brit-  
ish diplomat was not impressed with the  
unpolished little Russian. Henderson  
intervened to suggest with great polite-  
ness that Krivitsky might be worth  
listening to. In the meantime, the em-  
bassy had made a routine check with  
London and discovered to its surprise  
that Krivitsky was right on enough  
points to be taken seriously.

There was, he said, a leak in the Cab-  
inet Defense Committee, the most se-  
cret group at the summit of Britain's  
war effort. Since the Hitler-Stalin deal  
was in effect, there was a danger that  
Moscow would promptly forward to  
Berlin the secrets flowing daily out of  
London. Had it gone on, it could have  
cost Britain the war in the terrible  
year when she was fighting Germany  
alone.

The British asked Krivitsky to come  
to London. He was leery. He told Wald-  
man he didn't trust the Neville Cham-  
berlain government not to make a deal

dashing Scotsman given to smoking a  
pipe and sometimes wearing a cape.  
The clues were insufficient. What de-  
tails Krivitsky had given seemed to  
fall into place years after the war,  
however, when Donald MacLean de-  
fected to Moscow with his Foreign  
Office friend Guy Burgess and a still  
uncertain number of valuable British  
and American secrets.

Krivitsky proved to be a productive  
defector in England, and he was ade-  
quately guarded there. He was asked  
to stay, but he had his heart set on  
settling down in the United States.  
In America, though, there is no indi-  
cation that he ever did give much.

One night spent walking the Long  
Island seashore and pouring out tales  
to David Shub, father of his collabor-  
ator Boris, Krivitsky went on at  
length about the dangers to which he  
was exposed. Shub tried to soothe  
him, saying, "But why should you still  
be afraid? Why should Stalin be after  
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### Officially Unplumbed

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small planes of the time for reconciliation meetings with Hitler.

Krivitsky knew the dirty little truths that made up so much of what was really going on. Sometimes it depressed him; sometimes it made him furiously impatient that Americans not only did not know, but so often refused to listen.

### An Uprate Refuge

FROM HIS POINT of view, America must have looked full of contradictory quirks. He had a wife and small son, no money, no profession but revolutionist and spy, which were not on the "help wanted" lists. A number of people were kind to him; a cottage was found for him in upstate New York and he spent the summer there, catching his breath.

Another refugee couple, Eitel and Marguerite Dobert, lived nearby. Dobert had been a Nazi in his youth, had quit in disgust as Hitler came to power and was as obsessed as Krivitsky with the politics of Europe. The families became close friends. Other friends, mainly Paul Wohl at the beginning, sought to help Krivitsky launch his new life.

His one asset was his knowledge. It seemed self-evident that he should seek to earn his living by writing, and it seemed a satisfying outlet for the warnings he so badly wanted to give a heedless world.

But in a strange country and a strange language, he needed agents

at the Russian ships in the harbor. The work was not only for a country; it was also for a faith. Not communism but Stalinism was what he wanted to condemn.

Neither Stalin nor America conceived that there might be a difference. Both sides insisted that a man could only be totally for or totally against both. It angered Krivitsky that his disclosures were indeed made to serve those he had always considered enemies of the revolution, but it was not possible to trace a subtle path.

What he had to tell the American public was truly sensational. He told of large-scale Communist counterfeiting of American money to finance propaganda in this country, Communist forgeries and fakeries to set the Moscow show trials, Communist terror and murder and conspiracy. Most startling of all, he told in 1938 that Stalin had ordered Communist collusion with Nazis on several occasions and had been seeking an agreement with Hitler steadily since 1934.

Only the most active, almost professional anti-Communists were able to believe that. It was a devastating charge, too distressing for the credulity even of those who had no sympathy at all for communism but were determined to awaken this country to the evil of Nazism.

The existence of two, ostensibly opposed, wicked leaders in the world seemed too much to swallow. If Hitler

Then the Communist papers announced that he had invented himself—that he was really only Solomon Glimbo, "a well-known habitué of Paris cafes" but never a Soviet agent let alone an intelligence chief. The \$25,000 from the Saturday Evening Post was made to sound a hollow venality. The arguments did not drive Krivitsky from the scene, but they did succeed in giving him a highly distant, cool, suspect aura.

In the public print, he lost touch as a man and became a windy controversy. Somehow, he couldn't make his facts weigh, only the fury that surrounded them. It was as if the contradiction of the sharp-edged, hard-minded man he was.

### Friendships Sour

OTHER ENEMIES who might have shared his attitudes quarreled with him, partly no doubt out of envy for the money and attention he had won in a country that ignored their own particular abilities. He was hard to befriend, convinced by his own success that he knew best how to conduct his affairs and cynically distrustful from terrible experience.

Eventually, Krivitsky broke with both Paul Wohl and Isaac Don Levine, his early collaborators. His intense brilliance was fascinating but it was not set in amiability; his agile mind could not absorb the public and private briefings without reaction.

Krivitsky could find no way to cope with the transformation of his public personality produced by the American style of political infighting. His defenders sounded as wild and woolly as his attackers. Congressmen were persuaded to denounce him and inquire why he had been allowed to enter the United States. With such prodding, the Immigration Service prepared to deport him.

Krivitsky went to Louis Waldman, twice Socialist candidate for governor of New York and famed as a labor lawyer, a persistent, frisky terror of a counselor. Whether or not an explicit deal was made, the deportation order was dropped and Krivitsky agreed to testify before Rep. Martin Dies' House Committee on Un-American Activities.

He wasn't eager to do it, it only increased his problem of getting a sober hearing for his facts. But it answered his urgent need to assure a place for his family and himself in the United States.

The testimony, read now, is startling in its empty insignificance. Krivitsky must have felt as Einstein would have if he had been solemnly asked to put on public record the sum of 2 and 2. He knew so much of subtle plays and plots; all the Congressmen kept asking him, during a day of testimony, was to confirm that the Kremlin ran the Comintern and Stalin ran the Kremlin.

At the time, of course, many Americans refused to believe that the Communist Party of the United States actually listened to Moscow's commands; that the Comintern was not merely a loose confederation of like-minded but quite independent political parties in various countries which happened to include the world's only Communist state. Krivitsky simply said that these things, as obvious and elementary as his own face in the mirror, were true, and he talked no more.

There was something more he wanted, however, than just the right to stay in the country. He wanted protection. Once in New York, he ran across a Soviet agent he had known named Sergei Bessonov, a husky red-headed

*Krivitsky moved surreptitiously from Moscow to France, Holland, Switzerland, Italy and Austria.*





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### A White House Link

WALDMAN WENT ABOUT getting Krivitsky to help the United States quite differently. He had known Franklin D. Roosevelt well from the President's days in New York State politics; he had friends on the White House staff. He told Krivitsky he would do everything possible to get him immigration papers and American protection, but on condition that Krivitsky agreed to do all he could for the United States.

A session was arranged at the State Department. Ruth Shipley, a self-willed woman whom Roosevelt had once publicly called an ogre, headed the Passport Division and kept there many albums of passport photographs submitted by people whose activities or identities she thought questionable.

Krivitsky was told to go through an album and point out any pictures that he recognized. There were a number of people he had known as Soviet agents and he gave details of when and where he'd met them. He didn't even get through one book that day. When the session was over, Waldman went privately to State to check on the performance.

"They told me he was candid and correct," Waldman said much later. "The information jibed with what the Department knew." But the session hadn't begun to plumb the crowded depths of Krivitsky's knowledge. A second meeting was arranged for a week or two later. After that one, Waldman checked again and was told that Krivitsky had done poorly, clearly withholding and disguising information.

"I went back to the hotel and asked Krivitsky why he'd changed. I'd warned him that if he didn't cooperate fully, I'd have nothing more to do with him. He was angry.

"He said that there was no use telling the 'American Government' anything in confidence because it was so sloppy about security and so honey-combed with agents that everything he'd said the first time had got back to Moscow within 48 hours. I asked him how he knew. He wouldn't tell, but whatever he'd learned had certainly convinced him," Waldman said.

Despite his desire not to hurt friends on the other side whom he still considered innocent and his contempt for American security, Krivitsky was fully cooperative in at least one circumstance that he thought vital. While they were working together, he told Isaac Don

of Lothian was Ambassador.

As Don Levine had feared, the first meeting went badly. The elegant British diplomat was not impressed with the unpolished little Russian. Henderson intervened to suggest with great politeness that Krivitsky might be worth listening to. In the meantime, the embassy had made a routine check with London and discovered to its surprise that Krivitsky was right on enough points to be taken seriously.

There was, he said, a leak in the Cabinet Defense Committee, the most secret group at the summit of Britain's war effort. Since the Hitler-Stalin deal was in effect, there was a danger that Moscow would promptly forward to Berlin the secrets flowing daily out of London. Had it gone on, it could have cost Britain the war in the terrible year when she was fighting Germany alone.

The British asked Krivitsky to come to London. He was leery. He told Waldman he didn't trust the Neville Chamberlain government not to make a deal



Whittaker Chambers and Krivitsky fitted pieces in each other's puzzles.

with Stalin if the time came, and then to throw him in as a lagniappe.

The political war his mind worked led him to seek political protection in Britain before he ventured there. It was arranged by Waldman with the late Herbert Morrison, then a prominent figure in the British Labor Party.

### A Canadian Detour

THE UNITED STATES, not then at war, was uneasy about Krivitsky's being sent on the mission directly from American soil. A second arrangement was made whereby Krivitsky would spend some time in Canada and obtain there a regular immigration visa for his later return to the United States.

Boris Shub, a young Russian-speaking American, went along to use the time reworking the Saturday Evening Post articles into a book, "In Stalin's Secret Service," which was published by Harper in 1939. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police provided the screening that Krivitsky felt necessary for his safety.

The British sneaked him from Canada to England on a warship. As a result of his help in London, the British arrested a man named Charles King, a code clerk with access to the most crucial documents. The wartime trial and conviction were only announced several years later.

Krivitsky also described another agent in the British Foreign Office, a

fected to Moscow with his Foreign Office friend Guy Burgess and a still uncertain number of valuable British and American secrets.

Krivitsky proved to be a productive defector in England, and he was adequately guarded there. He was asked to stay, but he had his heart set on settling down in the United States. In America, though, there is no indication that he ever did give much.

One night spent walking the Long Island seashore and pouring out tales to David Shub, father of his collaborator Boris, Krivitsky went on at length about the dangers to which he was exposed. Shub tried to soothe him, saying, "But why should you still be afraid? Why should Stalin be after you now? After all, you've already told everything and nothing further can make a difference."

"Oh, no," Krivitsky said. "I haven't told the most important."

### Officially Unplumbed

A PART FROM his reluctance to tell, he was not officially asked. The Dies Committee only sought a kindergarten description of the international Communist hierarchy. The FBI didn't bother with Krivitsky. It had only begun to be interested in subversives and was still concentrating on racketeers and gunmen like Al Capone and Dillinger. To the extent that it made even a passing effort at counter-intelligence, it was Nazi agents that the FBI was after.

There was no CIA or anything of the sort. Army and Navy Intelligence went after strictly military matters of direct interest to each service, not cooperating and sometimes competing. The State Department accepted information brought to it, but had no investigative branch.

It is hard to resist the speculation that the sensitivity still surrounding the Government's secret Krivitsky files is much less because of what they contain than because they contain so little that mattered.

The whole approach to security and intelligence at that time was "primitive," in the word of former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. In view of the general state of affairs, the casual treatment given Krivitsky was not so surprising.

The situation in the State Department was not improved by personal feuds already developing into political vendettas. Adolf Berle was then the State Department officer in charge of liaison with military intelligence. He had been a child prodigy, and as a teen-ager at Harvard Law School he had offended Felix Frankfurter, then a leading professor.

The mutual distaste lasted and spread, even more virulently, to Dean Acheson, who was a devoted admirer of Frankfurter's. People took sides in the State Department and the quarrel reached into the White House.

Berle's assignment carried with it a hostile sensitivity to Soviet behavior, a traditional attitude among old hands in State. Acheson's assignment, involved in supporting Britain against Germany and later, on President Roosevelt's orders, in helping Russia buy supplies in this country, turned him the other way.

Even during the Nazi-Soviet pact, a number of people in State believed that eventually Stalin would have to fight strength. The atmosphere was abrasive. Hitler and that it was therefore important to help the Russians build up. There were sharp quarrels over daily decisions and a certain amount of intrigue in the attempt to influence them.

An early example came in drafting





# *"It Was Stalin Who Betrayed The Revolution, Not Those Whom He Called Traitor"*

New York, Jan. 27, 1941  
177 Lexington Avenue

My dear Miss LaFollette,

I inform your honorable friend K. that an  
ominous person is in New York, Pauc.

This letter is addressed to you since  
K. hides from me. Obviously, to escape the  
serving of a summons for the remaining \$200  
which he owes me in virtue of a formal ar-  
bitration award to which I submitted at his  
request.

His devious practices hardly justify this  
warning. I hesitate to send it. It may be bet-  
ter to let the rats devour each other.

Yours truly,

Paul Wohl

Miss Suzanne LaFollette,  
22 West 23rd Street,  
New York City.

ident Roosevelt's statement on the  
Union's digestion of Latvia,  
Lithuania and Estonia after the Hitler-  
ian partition of Poland. Fast foot-  
ing by Loy Henderson, James Dunn  
then Under Secretary Sumner  
as got an official denunciation out  
the White House before others in  
e could water it down. But it was  
wed by an internal tug-of-war over  
her the Baltic States' assets in the  
ad States should be handed over  
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body succeeded in establishing an  
ity system of policy priorities that  
sized the basic aim of opposing  
er and still left room for what  
ned conflicting decisions on the  
its of immediate questions. It  
is so much that Krivitsky was  
en out of the picture; he just never  
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e situation he confronted was  
onstrated even more clearly when,  
941, Isaac Don Levine arranged a  
ting between Whitaker Chambers  
Adolf Berle. Chambers, reinforced  
the details he had learned from  
rsky, recited a story of spy rings  
in the United States Government  
provided a series of names. One  
hem was Alger Hiss.  
hem were other respected officials.  
was an explosive charge with much  
manifesting circumstance. Berle took  
e the White House. Nobody paid  
attention. There was no investiga-

Dobert had established themselves on  
a farm near Charlottesville. They had  
only a few hundred dollars to begin.  
It was a pioneering struggle, but they  
were making a life, and they were at  
peace.  
There were prospects, too. Dobert  
had become a lecturer at the nearby  
University of Virginia. Krivitsky was  
attracted by the idea. He began to  
talk about moving with his wife and  
child to join the Doberts, and work the  
farm in partnership.  
**Two Open Attempts**  
**T**HERE WAS SOME urgency in con-  
sidering the move. Twice since he  
had been in the United States, there  
had been what he considered open  
OGPU attempts to surround and then,  
no doubt, to kill him. On other oc-  
casions, he had grounds for suspicion.  
Once he had called Loy Henderson  
at the State Department to say that he  
was in danger, and was told to get in  
touch with the New York police. The  
police were, in effect, willing enough  
to hold a nervous foreigner's hand if  
he dropped into a precinct station, but  
they were neither able nor willing to  
give regular protection.  
Then in early 1941, Krivitsky re-  
ceived a message that set him shiver-

Living under an assumed name, more  
than ever eager to hide his tracks,  
Krivitsky fumed and said he would  
think it over.  
Without telling Waldman, he found  
out that no permit was necessary in  
Virginia, but he did say that he was  
going there to arrange to buy a farm.  
Waldman insisted that the reluctant  
Russian testify before a New York leg-  
islative committee investigating com-  
munism in the schools, and Krivitsky  
wanted the appearance date postponed  
until after the Virginia trip. His hear-  
ing was set for Monday, Feb. 10.  
The Friday before, he took the train  
south. He stopped off in Washington to  
see Loy Henderson, mentioning his  
new fears and his decision to buy a gun  
for self-defense. Then he went on to  
the farm near Charlottesville.  
The Doberts listened to his explana-  
tions and answered his unending  
stream of questions, but they couldn't  
help feeling dubious.  
"I just couldn't see Walter as a  
chicken farmer," Margaret said later.  
"He was a total intellectual, just not  
the type."  
Krivitsky was a man without hob-  
bies, without interest in sports, in  
nature, in the use of his hands or legs  
for the pleasure of it. It was the brain  
that did all his working and living. He  
went on endlessly about the farm,  
the chores, the cost.  
All that remained to settle the deal,  
he said, was for his wife to have  
a look and give her approval.

himself. She  
remembered his  
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Krivitsky  
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himself. She asked him if he had remembered his "artillery." He patted the canvas bag that was his only luggage and said it was in there.

Krivitsky asked her whether Union Station, like railroad stations in most big European cities, had facilities for travelers to bathe. There was no running water on the farm and he wanted to clean up while he was waiting for the next New York train. She didn't know the answer.

But she did know, looking back, that it was an altogether normal conversation with every sign that Krivitsky was intent only on boarding the train, no sign that he had other plans.

But he never left Washington. He went to the Bellevue Hotel, a five-minute walk from the station. No one knows whether he went there directly or entered the station first and then changed his mind. No one knows whether he saw someone in or around the station who frightened him.

The Bellevue had no record of his making any telephone calls from his room. Its residents and staff paid no special attention to the man who registered as Walter Poref until the maid called the housekeeper to his room the next morning.

No photographs were taken in the hotel room to establish the trajectory of the bullet; no effort was taken to recover the bullet from the wall; no fingerprints were sought. All this was common practice when there was any suspicion of crime. But the immediate police assumption was that they were dealing with a clear-cut case of suicide, and the coroner took their word for it that afternoon.

### A Question of Style

THAT EVENING, however, Louis Waldman, Tonya Krivitsky and other people spoke out to challenge the verdict. Waldman hurried to Washington. It was too late to seek evidence at the scene of Krivitsky's death; everything had been tidied.

There was no doubt that Krivitsky had died with his brains blown out, but no absolute proof that the gun found in his room was the weapon used nor that he and no one else had pulled the trigger. All that was left was the body, the three notes and the long Krivitsky story with its heavily charged undertones.

The notes looked self-explanatory to the police, but to people who knew Krivitsky, they looked strange in many details. It was his handwriting, all right, and it was on the same kind of paper that the Doberts had given him at their Virginia farm. But the style was not quite typical of Krivitsky.

Each note carried a sentence beneath the signature. He had never been a man to write postscripts, a man to have afterthoughts. All who knew him agreed that he always was clear in his mind on what he wanted to say and stopped when he had said it.

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forms that would reveal mortal blackmail to the addressee but not to the blackmailer, however astute he might be.

"I believe," the widow told the press, "the letter (to her) was written under coercion. The OGPU had threatened that they would kidnap or harm me and our child unless he did what they directed—kill himself. He made this bargain because of his great love for us. But he was murdered in this fashion just as surely as though they had pulled the trigger of the gun."

Waldman argued passionately for an FBI investigation. It was refused on the ground that a possible murder in the District of Columbia was not a Federal but a local crime and that jurisdiction rested entirely with the Metropolitan Police. The lawyer pointed out that Krivitsky had been and was likely to have continued to be a witness before congressional committees and grand juries, and that could have been a proper basis for an FBI investigation.

After 24 hours of hullabaloo in the press and a Congressman's speech deploring inefficient, negligent police work on the case, the Washington police reluctantly reopened it. They interviewed the maid, the housekeeper, the bellboy and the hotel manager though not, apparently, the guests in the rooms adjacent to Krivitsky's.

They checked the empty shell found on the floor and confirmed that it was fired from Krivitsky's .38. It was too late to look for fingerprints on the gun. It had been covered with blood when the police first arrived and had been cleaned in the meantime.

### Invented a Telegram

REPORTERS TRACKED DOWN Mrs. Dobert on her farm. She had first learned of Krivitsky's death from the Tuesday morning papers at her friend's house in Washington, where she had spent the night after leaving Krivitsky at the station. At first she refused to believe it, still sure that he had returned to New York the previous Sunday. But there was his picture and photostats of the notes in his handwriting.

Distraught and bewildered, she invented for her hostess a telegram from her husband asking her to come home quickly. She drove off without a word about the affair. But when it came out that she had brought Krivitsky to Washington and was one of the last to see him, her evidence was sought.

Detective Chief Bernard W. Thompson reported to the press that "now, as before, we are convinced that Krivitsky killed himself." The Washington Post reporter added in his account, "Thompson stressed the words 'as before,' emphasizing that almost from the moment he was found . . . investigators have deemed the death a suicide." The police were smarting under the charge of inexcusably sloppy work when the body was found.

The only thing Mrs. Dobert was able to say to repeated questions about Krivitsky's state of mind when she left him, and about clues to his intentions from his behavior over the weekend, was: "He did tell me, 'If anything should happen to me, look after Alex and Tonya.' That was on the drive back to Washington on Sunday. I said, 'Don't be silly, Walter. Nothing will happen to you.' He didn't argue with that. He

vestigate the case." The spokesman was S. J. Tracy in the office of J. Edgar Hoover, who did not personally make a public comment or agree to receive Waldman.

Newspapers with strong anti-Communist editorial policies kept up the clamor for a few days, reviewing some of Krivitsky's life and other cases of OGPU assassinations beyond Soviet borders. Newspapers with strong leftist editorial policies answered derisively.

Ben Hecht wrote in PM: "Swinging Roman candles over its head, blowing smoke out of its ears, complete with electric-lighted nose, fright wig and fire gong hitched to its fanny, the Press is galumphing up and down the highways looking for the scoundrel who murdered that darling man, Gen. Walter Krivitsky . . . The point and purpose of the Rumpelstiltskin manhunt is to blow up the deviltries of Stalinism and allow Moscow, rather than Berlin, to frighten the pants off everybody . . ."

"The Red Menace being pummed out of the comatose Krivitsky is on your corner newsstand. And the presses printing it are not being supervised by OGPU and Gestapo chieftains, known in hand. It is, nevertheless, as giddy an example of the cynical contempt for readers' intelligence as ever came over the short waves from Europe . . ."

Ralph Ingersoll, also in PM, poured scorn on the fuss and asked with righteous indignation why Krivitsky's death deserved more attention than the seven lines reporting the suicide of a Brooklyn clothing worker on the same day. "Where is our conscience . . .?" he demanded. "What treacherous OGPU lives in us that we must accept and take into our hearts any dirty rat . . .?"

### A Belated Interest

THEN THE EXCHANGES of vituperation shifted to other topics, other news. Nobody reported seeing Hans Bruesse again. Twenty-five years later, intelligence services in the United States and Western Europe would, in the words of one official, "give an eyetooth to find him." They no longer doubt his existence.

After the war, the FBI did develop an interest in the Krivitsky case and its implications. It began collecting a file which is still secret. Suicide is no longer a firmly held official judgment. But neither has any new evidence emerged to prove that Krivitsky was murdered, by another or by his own hand under threat of dire harm to his wife and the son he adored.

The boy has grown up now and is an engineer living a normal life under another name. The widow, who also uses another name, still lives in New York, ill after all the years of desperate struggle to earn a living and protect her son. They are no longer afraid, but they have had nothing more to do with politics since that February day in 1941.

The proof of exactly what happened must lie in Soviet police archives, more secret even than the guarded FBI and CIA files on the case, for whether the OGPU engineered Krivitsky's death or simply sat by and won its goal without exertion, reports had to be made.

But even as a riddle, Krivitsky's story illuminated a period and its sanguine aftermath. The frenzy of the postwar Communist hunts had its roots in the prewar propaganda battles



...got an official denunciation out of the White House before others in State could water it down. But it was followed by an internal tug-of-war over whether the Baltic States' assets in the United States should be handed over to the Russians as Moscow was demanding.

Nobody succeeded in establishing an orderly system of policy priorities that sustained the basic aim of opposing Hitler and still left room for what seemed conflicting decisions on the merits of immediate questions. It wasn't so much that Krivitsky was frozen out of the picture; he just never got in.

The situation he confronted was demonstrated even more clearly when, in 1941, Isaac Don Levine arranged a meeting between Whittaker Chambers and Adolf Berle. Chambers, reinforced by the details he had learned from Krivitsky, recited a story of spy rings within the United States Government and provided a series of names. One of them was Alger Hiss.

There were other respected officials. It was an explosive charge with much substantiating circumstance. Berle took it to the White House. Nobody paid any attention. There was no investigation. The incident was forgotten until it was brought out in the postwar cross-fire of charges and countercharges that led to the Hiss trial.

In the McCarthy period that followed, deliberate suppression was charged. But the atmosphere at the time of the Chambers-Berle meeting makes it more likely that the Berle memorandum was simply brushed off as a part of the continuing game of push and pull in the State Department, not to be taken seriously. The Acheson side automatically supposed that there would be something fishy in anything that came from Berle, and vice versa.

#### The Other Extreme

THE HAPHAZARD concern for security, the personal animosities, the emotional frenzy stirred for Russia once the U.S.S.R. and the United States became allies in war—this immoderate background was doubtless an important factor in swinging the pendulum wildly to the other extreme when World War II had ended and the cold war was at its height. Looking back, the McCarthyites decided that there must have been conspiracies because so much carelessness seemed incredible in the new post-war awareness of intelligence operations.

There had been espionage and Communist penetration of the Government without doubt. Those germs of substance were multiplied into a national fever because they were so difficult to trace in the general muck of the period that had harbored them. According to their temperament, people concluded either that the whole culture was tainted or that it had always been pure.

Emotion gave credibility on a basis of very few facts in the McCarthy period, just as it had denied credibility on a basis of very many facts in the period of Stalin's purges. Krivitsky happened to speak at the wrong time to be heard in earnest. He even died at the wrong time to be buried in earnest.

By early 1941, he was back in the United States and out of steam. He had quarreled with his collaborators and exhausted the fraction of revelations he was prepared to make. Still reading the papers and watching European developments closely, he hoped to put his penetrating mind and burden of experience to use as a foreign affairs analyst. Columns are not so easily come by. He began to cast about for a new start in life.

His friends Etel and Marguerite

There were prospects, too. Dobert had become a lecturer at the nearby University of Virginia. Krivitsky was attracted by the idea. He began to talk about moving with his wife and child to join the Doberts, and work the farm in partnership.

#### Two Open Attempts

THERE WAS SOME urgency in considering the move. Twice since he had been in the United States, there had been what he considered open OGPU attempts to surround and then, no doubt, to kill him. On other occasions, he had grounds for suspicion.

Once he had called Loy Henderson at the State Department to say that he was in danger, and was told to get in touch with the New York police. The police were, in effect, willing enough to hold a nervous foreigner's hand if he dropped into a precinct station, but they were neither able nor willing to give regular protection.

Then in early 1941, Krivitsky received a message that set him shiver-



Alexander Kerensky, former leader of Russia, was convinced that Stalin agents murdered Krivitsky.

ing with fright. He took it to his lawyer, Louis Waldman, on Jan. 9. It was addressed to his friend Suzanne Lafollette, who had handed it on. The message read:

"Will you please inform your honorable friend K. that an ominous person is in New York: Hans... K.'s devious practices hardly justify this warning. I hesitate to send it. It may be better to let the rats devour each other."

The note was from Paul Wohl, bitter over his quarrel with Krivitsky, which had been primarily about money, but still aware of his former friend's danger.

The reference to Hans meant Hans Bruesse, the Dutchman who had once worked for Krivitsky and twice before had tried to kill him. Wohl had seen Bruesse boarding a bus on a Manhattan street. There was no question of identity; he was sure. He had known the Dutchman well in the days when Bruesse was a favorite at Krivitsky's headquarters in The Hague.

Krivitsky was just as sure, when he received the warning, that Bruesse's sudden and no doubt illegal appearance in the United States was to fulfill the old mission. An OGPU agent who had failed twice was bound to be in serious trouble himself, redeemable only by final success.

Krivitsky began to talk about buying a gun to protect himself. Waldman pointed out that in New York or New Jersey, he would have to get a permit.

...that no permit was necessary in Virginia, but he did say that he was going there to arrange to buy a farm. Wohl insisted that the reluctant Russian testify before a New York legislative committee investigating communism in the schools, and Krivitsky wanted the appearance date postponed until after the Virginia trip. His hearing was set for Monday, Feb. 18.

The Friday before, he took the train south. He stopped off in Washington to see Loy Henderson, mentioning his new fears and his decision to buy a gun for self-defense. Then he went on to the farm near Charlottesville.

The Doberts listened to his explanations and answered his unending stream of questions, but they couldn't help feeling dubious.

"I just couldn't see Walter as a chicken farmer," Marguerite said later. "He was a total intellectual, just not the type."

Krivitsky was a man without hobbies, without interest in sports, in nature, in the use of his hands or legs for the pleasure of it. It was the brain that did all his working and living. But he went on endlessly about the farm, the chores, the cost.

All that remained to settle the deal he said, was for his wife Tonya to have a look and give her agreement. Tonya and their son Alek, then 6, had stayed behind in New York that weekend.

Krivitsky went on about his plans late into the night. Tired from the day's work, the Doberts went to bed, but after a short time, Krivitsky knocked on their door. He had a bad headache and couldn't sleep, he said.

Marguerite, a tall, warm woman of great practical competence and steady good cheer, handed him some aspirin and writing paper from behind the door. She wished him goodnight.

But her guest was restless. The next morning he told them that he still couldn't sleep after writing his letters and had gone for a walk in the woods. He spoke appreciatively of the countryside, especially the isolation. It's safe and peaceful here, he told the Doberts.

"He was nervous," Marguerite said later, "but then he always was. Afterward, I couldn't help thinking that I should have noticed more carefully whether there was something wrong. But I didn't. I didn't think of anything. He was the usual high-strung Walter."

#### Target Practice

SATURDAY MORNING, Krivitsky and Marguerite Dobert drove into Charlottesville. They went to a hardware store and bought a gun without any difficulty. Later, the clerk identified the gun as the one found in the hotel room and he identified Mrs. Dobert and a photograph of Krivitsky as the customers who had bought it.

For some reason never brought out, he sold mushroom bullets as ammunition instead of ordinary bullets, unusual for sale to a person explaining that he lived in a wilderness and needed something to protect himself. When he spoke about the gun, according to all those who heard him, Krivitsky talked only in terms of his urgent need for self-protection after the warning he had received.

The next day, Marguerite Dobert drove Krivitsky back to Washington so he could catch a train. He mentioned his appointment in New York on Monday morning. She took a wrong turning on the way and for a time they wandered about country roads. Later, she remembered that as evidence that they had not been followed because she would have noticed another car on the back roads.

Before she dropped him at the corner of Union Station, she asked Krivitsky if he wanted her to mail the letters he had mentioned writing late Friday night. He said he would look after them



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Even more inexplicable to his intimates was the vague, allusive tone of the notes. They said nothing specific about any intention of killing himself or why. The nearest they came to the self-justification that is the one constant to expect in suicide notes was a general reference to the inescapable obligation to "go." Only the note to his wife Tonya went that far. It said:

"This is very difficult and I want to live very badly, but it is impossible. I love you, my only one. It is difficult for me to write, but think about me and then you will understand that I must go. Don't tell Alex yet where his father is gone. I believe that in time you will tell him because it is best for him. Forgive, it is very hard to write. Take care of him and be a good mother to him, and be always quiet and never get angry at him."

"He is very good, and always very pale. Good people will help you, but not enemies. I think my friends are big. I love you, Tonya and Alex. I embrace you."

P.S. On the farm of Dobertov I wrote this yesterday, but I did not have any strength in New York. I did not have any business in Washington. I went to see Dobertov because that is the only place I could get the firearm."

It had been written in Russian. Mrs. Krivitsky challenged the police translation as soon as she saw the note. Instead of rendering the first sentence to suggest that Krivitsky found it "impossible" to live, she said, a correct translation would be:

"It is very difficult but I want very badly to live, but to live is no longer allowed me."

#### Inference of Coercion

THE LOGIC of the situation and the man seemed to dictate that legitimate suicide notes would have read quite differently, with some mention of the OGPU's hounding him, his disillusionment with Moscow, his problems in creating a new life in the United States. If Krivitsky did choose to kill himself, these were doubtless the reasons, and he was not given to cryptic or fuzzy expressions.

Of course, a man's state of mind in contemplating suicide is likely enough so he illogical. No certain deductions could be made from the notes. But their very oddness served to convince his wife and other intimates that he had been cunning to the end.

The notes read, they felt, as if Krivitsky had been forced to write them and had cannily found words and

writing.

Distraught and bewildered, she vented for her hostess a telegram to her husband asking her to come back quickly. She drove off without a word about the affair. But when it came out that she had brought Krivitsky to Washington and was one of the last to see him, her evidence was sought.

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#### Ideological Debate

THE REAFFIRMED coroner's verdict did not end the excited public argument. Pressed again, the FBI said that it "did not and is not going to in-

live an eye-witness to the crime. . . .

After the war, the FBI did develop an interest in the Krivitsky case and its implications. It began collecting a file which is still secret. Suicide is no longer a firmly held official judgment, but neither has any new evidence emerged to prove that Krivitsky was murdered, by another or by his own hand under threat of dire harm to his wife and the son he adored.

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But even as a riddle, Krivitsky's story illuminated a period and its sanguine aftermath. The frenzy of the postwar Communist hunts had its roots in the prewar propaganda battles and the lackadaisical unconcern for security in those days.

Nobody responsible then bothered much with the kind of problem Krivitsky evoked. Then, as now, many shouted at each other to advance their arguments. Few looked to the case at hand.

*Reiss's body, riddled with machinegun bullets, was found beside a lonely road in Switzerland.*



SECRET

SAC, New York (62-9337)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6/24/75

Director, FBI (100-11146)

ANTONINA S. KRIVITSKY, aka  
ANTONINA THOMAS  
IS - R

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Classification  
DATE 1/12/78 6A574218

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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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Letter to SAC, New York  
Re: Antonina S. Krivitsky, aka  
100-11146

~~SECRET~~

NOTE:

The subject is the widow of Walter Krivitsky, a Soviet intelligence defector who died under mysterious circumstances in Washington, D. C., in 1939.

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